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The Week

WE must assume that the problem of priority, in its very highest terms, has been receiving the earnest attention of President Wilson. We cannot help feeling also that the clean-cut formulation of such a supreme priority policy would help greatly to solve the clash between lesser priorities and necessities. There are four great contributions for which the Allies look to America. They need food, ships, men, and munitions. They need them all badly enough, to be sure, but there must be, after all, a varying degree of necessity. Which of these ought to come first? So far as the general public is concerned, it is distracted by special claims set forth by special advocates. We had first of all Roosevelt's clamor for the immediate transportation of a volunteer army to France, no matter how trained or equipped. Then there came the famous interview with Joffre, whose obscurities have not yet been cleared up, but which was generally interpreted as a fervent demand for men to fill up the gaps in the French line. Thereafter ships came to the front. Thereafter food loomed up, and with ships has remained most conspicuous in the public mind. Now Mr. McCormick returns from France with a plea for guns and munitions from Gen. Pétain. But while Mr. McCormick is still speaking there comes an intimation from apparently high authority that what France needs, after all, is—men.

IF one were to frame a table of priorities simply by abstract reasoning, first place would have to go to ships, since upon ships depends the supply of food, men, and munitions for the Allied armies and populations. But inasmuch as tonnage can be found for food even under present conditions, Mr. Hoover's work comes up into first place; and that, too, because the food problem exists here as well as in Europe. Upon food conditions in this country is dependent the energy with which we can prosecute the building of ships, the raising and training of armies, and the production of guns and munitions. As between munitions and men, the former would seem to be the more pressing necessity of the two. If that is true, then there is partial vindication for Gen. Crozier in the matter of rifle shortage in our training camps, since obviously a gun in the hands of a French soldier already in the trenches is more effective against the Kaiser than a gun in the hands of a man who may not see Europe till the spring or summer of next year. Such considerations would indicate a general priority table of (1) food, (2) ships, (3) munitions, (4) men. But whatever may be the best arrangement, it is obvious that a definite scheme is needed. The Inter-Allied War Council would be largely justifying itself if it could assist the United States in establishing the right order of precedence, based on a thorough study of the whole war problem instead of on individual impressions and opinions.

SENATOR REED having proved Mr. Hoover an incompetent and a public danger long before he started work, sees no sense in giving Hoover a fair trial now. Reed has had experience in prosecuting criminals, and that there is any difference between a Senatorial investigation and a criminal prosecution seems hardly to occur to him. Mr. Hoover had previously requested through his attorney that he should be heard; several of Mr. Reed's committee warned him that he was creating an impression of unfairness in so manœuvring that repeated charges were brought against Hoover, and nothing was allowed to appear through regular channels in defence. Mr. Reed's attitude is "Away with him!" Hoover can be called on Friday, when the sugar question will be supplanted in the public mind by the coal investigation begun Wednesday, and he can be badgered on the stand by Mr. Reed himself; meanwhile let no statement from him be officially admitted. Senator Reed ought to know that such procedure simply convinces the country that the case against Hoover is so weak that it cannot be supported.

MR. HOOVER may derive some consolation from the present German food dictator's predicament. Herr von Waldow is the fourth or fifth incumbent of this Prussian office, all his predecessors having been dismissed because of their unpopularity. Now he, himself, seems to be standing on the brink, because he has permitted some of the munition companies to profiteer at the expense of their employees. He might have been as innocent of all complicity in this conspiracy as Liebknecht, as efficient in the pursuit of his duties as a Prussian drill-sergeant, yet he could not have eventually escaped popular censure. Food dictators have a hard row to hoe. In the first place, they must face people's unwillingness to draw their belts generally tighter; secondly, they must try to suspend the customary laws of supply and demand in all the main commodities, erect a huge dam of Government regulation against the operation of these laws. Any leakage leads at once to a roar of condemnation. Thus they have to face a storm of abuse from both sides, from producers as well as consumers. This is why the casualties among food dictators are so great, greater, perhaps, than in any other branch of the service.

THE inability of Major-Gen. William A. Mann to endure foreign service as commander of the Rainbow Division is not surprising. He is the fourth general to be weeded out in two weeks' time, and doubtless others will follow rapidly. But the question is, why were these generals commissioned without first being examined? Gen. Mann was obviously unfit for the strain; his being sent abroad in charge of a militia division can only, therefore, be looked upon as a reward for his long service as chief of the militia division. But if an efficient army is to be created, only men can be generals who are absolutely fit, mentally and physically, whose minds are young enough to be fully capable of rapid adjustment to an ever-changing warfare. The long list of German, French, Italian, and English generals found wanting, of whom the latest is Gen. Sarrail, is proof of this, and the sooner our War Department realizes it the better. Also, it is not too soon to introduce the foreign system of holding

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all commanding officers, from colonels up, rigidly responsible for the efficiency of their commands and relieving them promptly if they fall below the standard. It is well to talk of rigid discipline for disorderly men in the ranks, but the way to begin to discipline an army is with its highest officers.

CHAIRMAN HURLEY'S statement and cross-examination leave in clear relief the actual causes of delay in shipbuilding, and a certain comfort may be extracted from the fact that some were unavoidable and others largely so. Labor troubles on the Pacific Coast played no small part till a few weeks ago, but are almost wholly adjusted now. A shortage of cars to transport materials caused temporary delay in some yards. A change in the design of the wooden ships has cut down the tonnage of the wooden fleet to the possible extent of 250,000 tons, Mr. Hurley not committing himself to an exact figure. A great delay was occasioned at the outset because hundreds of men sought contracts with the Government who had no shipyards and knew nothing about ship-construction, and careful sifting was necessary to determine which were worthy of Government support. The controversy between Goethals and Denman, followed by the caution of Admiral Capps, caused a delay "from the last week in July until late in September" in letting contracts for most of 100,000 tons. One serious cause of delay still exists in the housing problem at Baltimore, Philadelphia, Wilmington, and other cities with great yards near; and Congress should heed Chairman Hurley's statement that at least $20,000,000 is needed to meet it.

"THE purpose of this memorable meeting," said Foreign Minister von Kühlmann at the formal opening of the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk yesterday, "is to terminate the war between the Central Powers and Russia." But it is not to the Central Powers that the Bolshevik negotiators are primarily addressing themselves, and it is not upon Russia that the German mind is really fixed. By the Bolsheviki the purpose has been avowed. For the Central Powers there speaks the readiness with which they have seized upon an opening for peace conversations. Why should the proceedings of the peace conference have begun, at von Kühlmann's suggestion, with a formal statement by the Russians of the general principles of a satisfactory peace, seeing that the Russians are thinking in terms of a general peace? Analyze this programme formulated by the head of the Russian delegation, and it clearly envisages problems that affect the Allies as a whole. The fifth clause in the Russian formula, dealing with reparation and reconstruction, says "the same principles shall be applicable to colonies as to the parent countries." But Germany has no Russian colonies in hand, and the Russians have no Central colonies. The final clause speaks of economic boycotts and naval blockades, of which the latter has no meaning for Russia. And when the Russians demand that "national groups not independent before the war shall decide by a referendum whether they shall become independent or give their allegiance to some Power," the reference is unmistakably to Alsace-Lorraine, to Italian claims, to Bohemia and the Jugoslavs—though, logically, too, to the Poles in Prussian Posen!

THE full version of Lloyd George's speech of last Thursday shows no specific change from the incomplete report in regard to British war aims and the official British view of the military situation. But the speech as a whole takes on a more serious tone in the passages dealing with the economic situation in England, and, in particular, the shipping problem, omitted in the condensed version. Concerning the food situation, Lloyd George speaks of a visible improvement in "the circumstances which have occasioned so much anxiety to us during the last few days," a state of things which has been brought out in recent dispatches. Concerning shipbuilding, the Premier admits that his sanguine prognostications of last summer have not been fulfilled; though this is properly countered by a decline in destruction by submarines and an increase in destruction of submarines. If shipbuilding to-day, as Lloyd George says, is about the rate of the "boom" year of 1913, this would mean about two million tons a year, or at least half a million tons below the present annual rate of Great Britain's losses through the U-boats. The sobering effect of the speech arises from the confession that the hopefulness of last August regarding ships, like Lloyd George's of a year ago regarding the assurance of the food supply, has not been fully justified.

REAR-ADMIRAL FISKE'S plan for the destruction of the German fleet by aerial attack echoes the question which a great many plain citizens have been asking themselves these three years and more. Here are the German ships huddled up in the Kiel Canal; what easier than to drop a lot of bombs on them? Putting aside the question whether in any appreciable future the Allies can marshal a sufficient air fleet, the question arises how near to the truth is Admiral Fiske's conception of German naval arrangements. "Germany's entire fleet is concentrated in the region of Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. All her naval eggs are in one basket." Here is the popular idea of the German warships lying nose to stern in the Kiel Canal and waiting to be bombed like a railway station. Perhaps the German target is not so compact as Admiral Fiske thinks. We have heard of German Dreadnoughts as far as the Gulf of Riga. The field of German naval concentration may be more properly visualized as extending from Heligoland to the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, a good many hundred miles. But assume that the German naval eggs are all in one small basket; what then? Is not the British Grand Fleet all in one small basket somewhere in the fogs of a North Sea port? If German aeroplane, Zeppelin, and submarine have failed to get at that magnificent basketful of eggs, what are the chances the other way?

IT cannot be denied that Col. Lewis's testimony before the Senate Military Committee will add to the disquiet which the investigation into army matters is arousing. That he is profoundly biassed—to the point of bitterness—is obvious; his assumption of infallibility, as when he insisted that the Browning gun broke down during the trials—although he was not present, he just knew it *must* have broken down—defeats itself. But he has undeniably a strong position when he cites the fact that 70,000 of his guns are in use in Europe to-day, and that our Government is now buying them, despite the fact that they were at first rejected. Why should this loss of time have occurred? Why with war in sight was it not the Ordnance Bureau's duty to buy a gun that satisfied the British and Belgian armies, even if it is not as perfect as the Browning weapon? The search for the ideal is always commendable, but there is such a thing as being practical, particularly in war time. The worst

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phase of Col. Lewis's testimony is indubitably the bias of the Ordnance Bureau towards the inventor. The latter may cherish the luxury of a grievance and be full of spleen, but the War Department has no right to imitate him. We cannot, therefore, find any excuse whatever for the attitude of the officials towards Col. Lewis personally. He is a brother officer, and his attitude in offering to give up all his enormous royalties was patriotic and unselfish. Yet he could get no acknowledgment of his fine attitude, nor even obtain a receipt for the thousands of dollars he voluntarily turned in. His checks were deposited in the Treasury and the United States availed itself of this voluntary gift, but this great Government was too busy even to say thank you. No amount of bad blood between Col. Lewis and Gen. Crozier can explain or palliate treatment like that.

"BEWARE of vidders," the Pension Bureau echoes the elder Weller. That it has reason to do so is shown by the fact that though not a soldier of the War of 1812 survives, there are 109 pensioned widows of such soldiers. There are only 384 survivors of the Mexican War, but there are 3,442 widows of the veterans. The explanation is less for experts in longevity than the sociologists, who may tell us just why old veterans (with pensions valid after death) are so often attractive to comparatively young women. The pensioned widows of Civil War veterans practically equal the number of survivors. The latest report of the Bureau chronicles the workings of a characteristic bit of pension legislation—the act of September 8, 1916. This almost doubled the pension given to certain classes of widows, including not only those who had been wives of Civil War soldiers during the conflict, but widows who had passed or should pass the age of seventy, even if married much later than the war. It also amended the law declaring widows of soldiers and sailors who had married prior to June 27, 1890, eligible to a pension, by changing the date to June 27, 1905. Under this law the total number of widows who had their pensions nearly doubled was more than 155,000, and the number of widows added to the roll by the fifteen-year extension was 6,147.

UNLESS there is an epidemic of special sessions of Legislatures next year, we shall have to wait until 1919 at least for the finish fight over nation-wide prohibition. Only eleven Legislatures meet regularly in 1918. The contest in those eleven, however, will be watched with keen interest. Only five of the eleven voted for the amendment in the House. As their vote in every case was one-sided, attention will be centred upon the other six, which are New York and Maryland, each of which voted two to one against the amendment; New Jersey, which was even more decided; Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which gave only majorities against, and Louisiana, which was evenly divided. The capture of a single one of these six will be hailed by the prohibition forces as the beginning of the end, for exactly the number of States required to adopt the amendment, thirty-six, voted for it by their delegations in the House. The opposition was made up of seven States against it and five tied, not counting absentees. For any State won in the House and lost at its own capital, the "drys" will have to win only one of these divided States.

WHILE we are noting the ability of academic men like Wilson, Milyukov, and Painlevé to enter public life conspicuously, we must not forget that in Britain the greatest public men are able to don the garb of the academic specialist with scholarly distinction. The Romanes lecture on a scientific or literary subject, not given this year on account of the war, will be given in 1918 by Mr. Asquith; and he is the sixth statesman to occupy the lectureship. Gladstone was the first, in 1892; five years later John Morley spoke upon "Machiavelli"; in 1902 Bryce discussed "The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind"; in 1907 Lord Curzon lectured upon "Frontiers"; and in 1909 Balfour followed with his "Criticism of Beauty." Varied achievement by one man in fields of the intellect and of active affairs is better known abroad than here, far as it is from being unknown here. We need not turn to the great nations, but can find examples of it in Spain, or in little Norway, which has just sent us a statesman and scientist in Nansen. But the list of five living British statesmen invited to deliver the Romanes lecture offers an intellectual array that it would be difficult to match in any other land. A nation may be prouder of finding such scholarly minds among those who have made a lifelong profession of affairs than of occasionally finding among its scholars one who is fitted to turn to affairs with success.

FOR two years the United States has had poor wheat yields; the consequence of a third might be so serious that even the December reports on crop conditions will be carefully scanned. They are encouraging as to the efforts of the farmers, who have planted a record of 42,170,000 acres, and would have planted nearly the 47,000,000 asked had weather conditions been favorable. They are discouraging in that the state of the crop is unprecedentedly poor. The net result is a forecast of 540,000,000 bushels of winter wheat, which would ordinarily not be bad. Only twice, when in 1914 we raised 685,000,000 bushels of winter wheat, and in 1915, 655,000,000, has it been exceeded; and it is slightly more than the average of the five years ending 1915. But the showing is so far from promising the record crop needed that the country must encourage a heavy planting of spring wheat. The best crop of spring wheat ever grown was nearly 360,000,000 bushels, in 1915; and by bending every effort the country may reasonably try to surpass the 400,000,000-bushel mark.

IT is noteworthy that the movement for a free port at New York has gone so far that the Federal Tariff Commission is holding hearings on it, that the House Committee on Ways and Means is expected to join in them, and that Representative Hulbert is preparing a bill. England's free-trade policy, making her ports virtually open, and Germany's free ports at Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, are recognized to be important factors in their acquisition and retention of overseas commerce. Antwerp, Copenhagen, Singapore, and Hongkong are other free ports, all great trading centres. It is asserted that carrying trade will go hundreds of miles to escape tariff barriers, and by the establishment of a free-port zone at places like Boston and New York, where cargoes brought from abroad merely for transshipment to another foreign port might be placed in warehouses and broken and remade without payment of customs due or unnecessary red-tape, the business of this port might be sensibly increased. A free zone would stimulate the growth of export houses which could hold goods indefinitely to meet the varying trade demands of various

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parts of the world, and of mercantile houses which could exhibit in the free port merchandise for inspection by buyers before importation was decided upon. All that is yet planned is an experimental measure. It is to be hoped that something definite will grow out of the hearings.

THE second refusal of Australia to vote conscription ought to end the agitation for it there. So far as the returns show, the vote against it is larger than before. Victoria, which in 1916 voted for it, this year gave a majority of 1,500 against it. Thus Premier Hughes's hope of following in Canada's footsteps goes a-glimmering, and with it no doubt a good deal of his prestige. We have been hearing very little of Australia in the news, but it has been through a most hectic year, with a general strike bordering on revolution and the almost complete tying up of all shipping for months at a time. The British Government has been unable to move a bushel of the 600,000 tons of wheat it agreed to take because of lack of shipping, and the sinking of several steamers in the Australian trade has further complicated matters. While the country has been enjoying a distinct war prosperity and the Government has had no trouble in raising its war loans, Australia has not been a happy country, and will welcome the coming of peace as readily as any other land. At least, however, Australia, like Canada, has clung to the democratic ideal of letting its citizens vote on so vital a question as conscription.

Cerebral Congestion at Washington

WE fancy that if a physician were asked to diagnose the trouble at Washington, he would say that too much blood was going to the brain. The flushed face; the irritability; the restlessness; the headaches; the turning from one subject of attention to another—are tell-tale symptoms. Political students and party leaders predicted something like what we now see, if the process went on. The tasks would become too huge for mortal men. There would be confusion, delay, cross-purposes, inefficiency, and general congestion of the public business such as used to curse St. Petersburg when a man in Vladivostok could not build a house without getting a permit from the capital.

Something of all this was visible in Washington even before the war. Federal employees spawned like mushrooms. New commissions, new bureaus, grew up over-night. And, inevitably, the war intensified the tendency. Not only were the military activities of the Government doubled and quadrupled. Every incidental difficulty that arose, every new form of control that seemed needful, was at once referred to Washington. But it was impossible that all things could be done equally well. In the terrible pressure of business some affairs were certain to be overlooked or neglected, others to be muddled. The Congressional investigations now going on have disclosed little beyond what in the nature of the case must have occurred. Little Fathers at Washington were certain to give some of their children cause for complaint.

Two explanations are commonly advanced. One is that the President has not chosen the right persons to execute the Government policies. It is alleged that Mr. Wilson is not a good judge of men; that he has not a sure business sense; that he chooses incompetents to do impossibles. Doubtless there is some truth in this. But a President of absolutely infallible judgment in picking subordinates could not succeed in making everything function smoothly in so gigantic a system as the work of administration has grown to be. There would have to be perfect intelligence and flawless efficiency from top to bottom of the organization, if there were to be no friction and no blunders. Even super-men at the head could not make the million feet of the Federal service march in perfect goose-step. It is the overpowering nature of the burden laid upon Washington which is the main cause of congestion. Some say, and this is the second explanation, that the fault lay in Congress for turning over everything to the Administration. If Congress had kept its hand upon the whole business, lucid order and swift movement would have followed. Anybody who believes that will believe anything. The fact is that a part of the trouble arises from the action of Congress. One complaint is that army officials and executive officers are suffocated in red tape. But who wrapped them in it? Congress, by a set of statutes directly tending to penalize personal initiative and confine everything within routine trammels. And as for having a free hand for Government business, Congress has more than it can do in attending to its own. If the Administration is staggering and dizzy under the load put upon it, Congress is also. It can inquire into administrative failures —and is quite right in so doing—but if it were to take over the work itself, it would only multiply worse failures.

The knotty question of a remedy is discussed by Professor Willoughby, of the Institute for Government Research, in the December number of the *Political Science Quarterly*. He proposes, seriously, that we make of the Government a "holding corporation." By this he means that separate branches of the Federal service should be set up as distinct corporations, each with its own directors, its own budget, its own programme, merely having to report to Congress for approval and further authority. Thus we should have one corporation for shipping, another for the Panama Canal, another for the Post Office, another for the Government printing, and so on. Professor Willoughby admits that it would be extremely difficult to induce Congress to part with its powers in this way, and, indeed, urges only that a slow and cautious beginning be made. His proposal is interesting at least in showing how pressing is the problem of decentralizing the work of the Government, now more and more concentrated in Washington, as it is, and pressing with ever greater severity upon President and Cabinet. John Stuart Mill's formula was to collect all the information and direction possible at the centre of Government, but to have the actual work diffused widely. We are certainly getting plain warnings that to ask the Administration to do at the same time all the thinking and all the work, is to invite a cerebral breakdown.

Peace Negotiations and Peace Talk

ONLY those who know the Bolshevik heart better than the Bolsheviki themselves will venture to say just what is the real motive and what are the real expectations underlying the Russian side of the peace conversations at Brest-Litovsk. Lenine and Trotzky may be determined upon

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a separate peace regardless of consequences. Or they may be counting only on the threat of separate peace to force a general peace. Or, still more moderately, they may be thinking, for the moment, of compelling that concrete discussion of war and peace aims for which revolutionary Russia has asked from the beginning, but towards which neither Entente nor Germany has found it possible to take the first step without loss of prestige, morale, and war efficiency. Either side has insisted that the other side speak first. The Bolsheviki, on the other hand, may be conceived as saying: "Hang the empty formalities and precedences of the old diplomacy! We take no stock in prestige and dignity. We are perfectly willing to be the first to inquire of the enemy what he wants." This, at least, is one possible interpretation of the latest aspect of the Russian kaleidoscope. The Bolshevik negotiations with Germany began as a move towards a general peace; these words were formally used in Ensign Krylenko's letter to von Hindenburg. Then, amidst the growing tension of party feeling within Russia and the silence of the Allies, the Bolshevik peace threatened to become a separate peace. Last Friday brought the report of a speech by Trotzky before the Peasants' Congress cast in moderate tone:

> We do not promise not to conclude a separate peace. We are not able to make war for ten years in the interests of the French Bourse and British Imperialism. *History will condone a separate peace.* We have given the Allies two months to join in our general peace efforts.

The Bolshevik tone has ceased to be truculent and has become apologetic.

In spite of Lenine's and Trotzky's pleadings, the Peasants' Congress is reported to have condemned the Bolshevik policies. Too much importance, it is true, cannot be attached to the rapidly shifting majorities in congresses, councils, and Soviets, but the fact of a formidable opposition to Bolshevikism even among those who will not endanger the revolution by taking up arms against the Bolsheviki cannot be explained away. Add to this the more active opposition of the Ukraine with its solid twenty-five millions of population, the Cossacks with their several millions, the Mohammedan Tartars of the Volga, and it will not do for the Bolsheviki to rail against the "bourgeois" Constitutional Democrats as the only enemy. But more than that, there is the world outside of Russia to consider. Trotzky declares that Russia will not fight for the French Bourse and British Imperialism. Only, it is not the Paris Bourse, but the French Socialists, who have denounced a separate Russian peace as a betrayal of Socialism and of the democracies of the West. The Bolsheviki cannot make Russians forget that in the price paid for Russian freedom is the blood of millions of Frenchmen without whose sacrifices Germany would have won long ago and Nicholas II would now be on his throne a friend of William II. It is much easier for the Bolsheviki to threaten peace than to obtain it.

We thus have reason for believing that the Bolshevik purpose at Brest-Litovsk is less to frame a peace than to force a discussion of peace. In that Trotzky has been successful, and on both sides of the battle line. The readiness with which Germany has consented to talk peace, the rush to conference of the German Foreign Minister, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and the representatives of Bulgaria and Turkey, are not to be explained altogether by confident expectation in the Central Powers that peace with Russia will come. Teutonic eagerness in the matter is likewise owing to the fact that Berlin's *pundonor* has been saved; it is the enemy who has spoken first, who has asked for terms. Once the ice is broken, Germany, if reports from so many different sources have any value, is only too glad to talk peace, and general peace. Inquiries are made of the Russians as to the probable participation of the Allies. Peace "feelers" reach Washington. The Austrian lower house adopts the formula of no annexations and no indemnities. Chancellor Hertling calls into consultation representatives of the Reichstag parties, not excluding the Independent Socialists who have voted against the war budget.

For the Allies, after the President's message to Congress and Lloyd George's speech of some days ago, comes the debate last Thursday in the House of Commons. There is as yet no complete statement of war aims, but an approach is made. Lloyd George declares that Britain went into the war without thought of wresting an inch of ground from the enemy for herself. The German colonies are to be thrown into conference. The course of events, Lloyd George implies, has now determined that the Turkish dominion over Palestine and Mesopotamia shall be broken. This may be conquest, but at least it is a definite statement. But highly significant, too, was the note that ran all through the debate concerning a League of Nations. To Mr. Asquith this is the greatest aim of the war. To Lord Robert Cecil it must be one of the objects of the war. And though Lloyd George thinks that a League of Nations without a victory over the German military caste would be farce, he does speak of the League of Nations. The sounding of this note, which reechoes so poignantly in the heart of humanity, is an auspicious sign. Statesmen to-day in every camp are finding it more difficult to cry, "No peace talk, no peace talk!" when there *is* peace talk.

More German Diplomacy

SHORTLY after the public disclosure of the first Luxburg telegrams—including the infamous one advising that merchant ships be *spurlos versenkt*—the German comic paper, *Simplicissimus*, had a double-edged cartoon. This pictured President Wilson rifling the desk of a departing German Ambassador, who had left incriminating documents behind. These the President was waving, while he exclaimed, "How strong Germany must be to be able to endure such diplomats!" We notice, however, that some Germans are beginning to think that they can no longer endure their diplomats. A dispatch from The Hague last Friday stated that "leading Hamburg exporters," with large interests in South American trade, had sent to the German Chancellor "a sharp protest against Count von Luxburg, the former chargé at Buenos Aires." It is plain that at least these Hamburg merchants are awake to the irreparable damage to German trade in South America that has been wrought by the machinations and the glaring imprudences of Count Luxburg. And this was before they could have known the full import of the new documents published by Secretary Lansing last Friday.

These fresh revelations are of high importance, both immediate and ultimate. They set in an even stronger light than before the brutal and unscrupulous methods of a German diplomat who was retained in the employ and the confidence of the German Foreign Office even after his character had been fully displayed. Count Luxburg seemed to

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take peculiar delight in expressing contempt for the people and the Government to which he was accredited. He described the Argentine Foreign Minister, with whom he was daily doing business, as "a theatrical person" possessed of "insane cunning." On another occasion he telegraphed that "the Minister of Marine and the Minister for Foreign Affairs are *probably bribed.* And in Argentine domestic affairs and foreign relations Luxburg was forever meddling. He apparently regarded the President of Argentina as a puppet in his hands, and Chili and Brazil as merely pawns in the diplomatic game he was playing. Such a mixture of stupidity and arrogance as his can hardly have been paralleled unless by other German diplomats still under cover.

Nor can the German Government any longer seek to clear itself by making a scapegoat of Luxburg. To disavow or discipline him will not suffice after this latest publication by our State Department. For among these new intercepted telegrams are several from the German Foreign Office. Both Zimmermann and von Kühlmann were privy to Luxburg's schemes. They had nothing to say against the plan for getting up a secret South American combination to oppose and thwart the United States. They did not protest against the proposals to ride rough-shod over "an infatuated and misguided Argentina," and in spite of her to carry out, after the war, Germany's "South American policy." What that policy was is innocently disclosed by Count Luxburg in his telegram speaking of "the *reorganization of South Brazil.*" Here is the plot to set up a German Rio Grande do Sul unblushingly avowed. The German Foreign Office had no disclaimer or rebuke for that; and von Kühlmann's dispatches about a secret and tricky settlement of the submarine controversy with Argentina read as badly as anything to which even his predecessor, Zimmermann, put his name.

The whole disclosure is most damaging to the German Government. And the fact that these inculpating telegrams have been made public in full understanding with the Argentine Government—the publication being, in fact, simultaneous in Washington and Buenos Aires—raises a strong presumption that decided action will be taken by Argentina. Her Foreign Minister has already issued an indignant statement, in which he declares that the telegrams to and from Luxburg are "so surprising that no epithet will fit them." It would appear highly probable that there will soon be an Argentine declaration of war upon Germany. The Argentine Congress has voted in favor of it, but thus far President Irigoyen has been able to keep from going to extremes. It would seem now that his patience has been exhausted. Germany's blundering and criminal diplomacy will soon have added, unless all signs fail, another nation to the list of her enemies. It will also have furnished one more incentive to the German people to reform their own Government and do away forever with a vicious secret diplomacy.

Shall the Revenue Law Be Revised?

HARDLY had Congress assembled for the present session, when the question began to be discussed at Washington, whether it would not be necessary to recast or amend the War Revenue bill of October 3. The suggestion was in some respects unusual. Congress had devoted nearly six months to deliberating on that bill. Three months of the fiscal year to which some of its provisions would apply, and nine months of the calendar year which is the basis of calculation for other taxes, had already elapsed when the law was signed. The lapse of time is now still greater. Yet last week that very well-informed expert on the revenue problems, the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, admitted that revision might be necessary, and Senator Smoot, of the same Committee, declared that the whole law as it stands ought to be repealed, "and a rational, workable measure substituted for it."

Such an attitude might conceivably have indicated dissatisfaction with the underlying principles of the law. In this case, it manifestly means nothing of the kind. The general plan by which the burden has been laid on the taxpaying community has been acquiesced in, even by the men and organizations which will be assessed most heavily. To many of the specific schedules no opposition whatever is expressed. What this new position of the Congressmen really reflects is the growing conviction among them, and in the business community as a whole, that some important provisions of the measure are palpably unjust, some of them so confused and complicated in their language as to make it impossible to discover what they actually mean, and some of them so ill-considered and inadequately restricted as to threaten actual financial embarrassment to many taxable concerns and to throw into confusion the financial markets on which the Government must rely to float its war loans, while preserving private credit.

How all this happened is no mystery to people who followed the Congressional debate. It is true that Congress discussed the Revenue bill for six months. But it is also true that in their present form the sections to which we are referring—notably the Excess Profits Tax section—were drastically amended and redrawn in a single fortnight by what Professor Taussig, of the Tariff Commission, a close-range observer of the proceedings, has described as "a group of eight men, already wearied by the exigencies of a trying session and now compelled to work under high pressure." This conference committee's work had two results—an attempt to compromise between two principles of taxation which were in fact mutually antagonistic, and the introduction of some new provisions which had not previously been considered by Congress. This done, the conference bill was enacted after a day or two of purely perfunctory debate.

The Senate Committee's profits tax was based on profits arising from the war; the House provisions for the same taxation were based on profits exceeding a given percentage on all invested capital. In the effort to retain both principles, the weary conference committee drew up a section which, for obscurity of purpose, clumsiness of definition, and ambiguity of language, has had few parallels in our fiscal legislation. The result has been that, in the two ensuing months, the lawyers have been at their wits' end to inform the taxable corporations what they will have to pay. The companies have been unable, while the doubt remained, to move very far with plans. The Treasury has named a committee of economic experts to help it in interpreting the law, and a special Treasury bureau has been established to answer, as best it may, the multitude of confusing inquiries coming from the bewildered business men.

Into this new and confusing section of their bill the conference committee injected a sweeping proviso for an 8 per cent. tax on all individual earnings exceeding $6,000, derived

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not only from trade profits but from all kinds of professional pursuits. In essence clearly an additional income tax, this is classified as "excess profits"; the consequence necessarily being that the tax on incomes earned by an individual's own labor is increased by that amount, while incomes earned from invested capital are not touched by it. No farther departure from the accepted principles of sound taxation could be made, and the action was hardly helped, in the public view, by the calm stipulation of the new provision that the tax should not apply to incomes of the Congressmen who enacted it.

We have been from the first convinced that this highly objectionable provision should be eliminated at once, and we are still of that opinion, despite the intimations to the contrary by the Senate leaders. As for the excess-profits section as a whole, even the brief experience since the bill was passed has proved the urgent necessity of revising it, clarifying it, and removing the dangers which, in its present shape, it unquestionably threatens to the business situation.

We are not inclined to approve the plan, ascribed to Senator Smoot, that the whole law as it stands should be repealed, and a new one substituted. If the law had been passed in June and Congress had been reconvened in September, or if a clear and well-thought-out substitute plan had even now been submitted by the Administration, the case might be different. But the time presses, and the burden of work before Congress in other fields than finance is very heavy. But we absolutely agree with the Senator that "nothing more grotesque has ever been passed by Congress than the excess-profits tax in the War Revenue law," which has created a situation in which "not one corporation in the country is exactly sure how the tax is to be applied" and in which "the Treasury is unable to give any interpretation that helps them."

This is not a matter to be paltered with. It is not a case of insistence by the very rich that they be relieved from a prospective burden. It is a situation in which the plans, prosperity, and in many cases possibly the solvency, of scores of those private businesses, great and small, whose earnings must be relied on to float the war loans and keep the country on an even economic keel, are jeopardized by an ill-conceived statute which it is not too late to reform and reconstruct. In our judgment, it is imperative that Congress should lose no time in getting down to the task.

The Proper Attitude Towards Socialism

OF the many inconsistencies in which the bulk of our press is wallowing nothing is more extraordinary than its treatment of our Socialists. At the very moment when Americans are eagerly longing for the news of the triumph of the German Socialists over the Kaiser, when they rightly see in the Liebknechts and Haases and Scheidemanns the one hope of a safe and sane Germany, free from the curse of its autocracy and its militarism, our Socialists at home are regarded with suspicion, charged with the Kaiserism they despise, and all too frequently lumped with I. W. W.'s and Anarchists. Every time the Government moves against the Socialists the press applauds. In the almost unparalleled intolerance of other people's opinions if they differ from the prevailing one, Socialists are treated as if enemies of society, a direful brood hatching something so new and so dreadful no one can quite define it. "Society" shudders, our politicians rage, and our leaders of industry declare that like the I. W. W. the Socialists ought all to be hanged.

Now in a benighted official like the Postmaster-General this sort of attitude is to be expected. He has the breadth of view of a small Texas town, and so he publicly declares that all Socialist newspapers are to be suppressed, "not because they are Socialistic, but because all Socialists are against the war and therefore seditious." His every utterance shows the provinciality of his point of view. It is perfectly evident that he is totally unaware of what has gone on in Europe; that there were over four millions of Socialist voters in Germany before the war; that Denmark is to-day a more completely "socialized" state than Karl Marx dreamed of, and that France, Italy, and Sweden as well as Russia have practically Socialistic Governments or Socialists in control of administration. Like our own too often ill-informed press, Mr. Burleson does not realize that Socialism has not anything in common with anarchy, that it is a widely supported economic theory of government, which, however faulty its economics, makes a tremendously powerful appeal because of its humanitarianism, its fellowship, its devotion to the cause of the workers, and its democratic trend. No cause can be wholly bad which enrolls millions of men under its banners of all classes in the countries where there is the suffrage. It is certainly not to be treated in 1917 as something entirely destructive and vicious, to be held down by force or by Government control, as Mr. Burleson essays to do—in utter ignorance that a bigger man than the Postmaster-General, namely, one Otto von Bismarck, tried this policy for some years, going to very great lengths to stamp out all Social-Democrats, only to find out that every time he struck one down a hundred arose in his place.

The extraordinarily bitter and narrow attitude of most of our leading newspapers, and of men as politically far behind the times as Mayor Mitchel and Theodore Roosevelt, is the more amazing because in the seven months we have been at war, we have taken the speediest and most far-reaching lurch into State Socialism recorded of any great country. It must be plain to every thinking American by this time that one of the prices we shall pay for our idealistic battling for democracy in Germany is a great swing towards radicalism. We must and shall have more democracy at home and greater popular control of governmental policies. It must be made impossible to plunge this country into war again in the precise way in which it was in April, 1917. But the reaction is likely to go much further than that. Shall we not see a retention of the price-fixing by the Government? Shall we not face permanent Governmental control of the necessaries of life as well as of mines, railways, the building and managing of steamships, warehouses, elevators, etc.? The whole trend is in that direction; the Non-Partisan League of the Dakotas is a sign of it as well as the great increase in the Socialist vote.

In view of this, how is it possible for newspapers which pretend to leadership to denounce those as traitors who advocate putting the Government in control of all business? When they talk thus, they indict their own President and their own Congress. They cannot cry out for a Government administrator of railways in war time and brand as seditious those who would have him in peace time. They cannot insist upon a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the Government at Washington to beat the Kaiser

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and abuse those who think it a good thing when the Kaiser is beaten. They cannot say, as Mr. Roosevelt did, that a vote for Hillquit is a vote for treason when Mr. Hillquit merely wants to carry to the *n*th degree the policies which Washington now finds essential to the successful carrying on of the war. They will ere long, these militant journalists and politicians, have to treat with respect the views of those opponents of Socialism who sincerely believe that the price the United States will have to pay in the socializing of much of its political life is too great a sacrifice even for the privilege of breaking lances in behalf of the freedom of Germany from autocracy and militarism. The correctness of this point of view will still be challenged, but that it is a debatable position will be recognized before another year or two has elapsed.

As for the *Nation*, it sees nothing in the present situation to cause it to change its attitude towards Socialism. It is opposed to its economic doctrines as heretofore. It would again quote the words of its lamented editor, the late Hammond Lamont, who thus laid down in 1908 what ought to be the correct attitude of all opponents, whether in politics or journalism, towards the Marxians: "And as for other questions—we cannot believe that error will permanently prevail over truth. We are confident that individualism, in its main features, is the policy which has formed and which must preserve our institutions. But if we conservatives are mistaken, we cannot but welcome a discussion which shall open our eyes and set us right. Our attitude towards this topic, as towards any other which touches the vitals of our nation, must be that of readiness to defend our faith in open forum, to meet and conquer reason with reason."

But the *Nation* sees plainly that the time may be at hand when the Socialistic party may in the several States and the country as a whole be the radical party to which will flock in protest many hundreds of thousands of Americans who are wholly opposed to Socialism, precisely as many thousands of New Yorkers voted for Hillquit and Hylan as a protest against the war and the militarism of Mitchel, not because they believed in Tammany misrule or in the State as a controller of every function of life. It is too early to say, as Roger Sullivan has said in Chicago, that the time is already at hand to amalgamate the Republican and Democratic parties in the nation in a new line-up of conservatives against radicals. But it is quite possible to foresee a situation like that which would arise in New York if Governor Whitman and William Randolph Hearst should be candidates for the Governorship of the State next autumn. Many patriotic citizens who abominate the Kaiser and all his works, despise yellow journalism, and are outraged by the whole machine-type of wasteful and militaristic government which Governor Whitman typifies, would then feel themselves compelled to vote for a Socialist or some other third ticket as a patriotic duty and to preserve their self-respect, precisely as hundreds of thousands of Democrats who were opposed to most Republican economic tenets voted for McKinley against Bryan. When such a course as this is possible, it is time for press and public men to take a different attitude towards Socialism. That party is here to stay for long years to come and may serve an admirable turn as a club to compel the conservative parties to abjure reaction, to discard hypocritical democracy, and to devote themselves to a sane and sound democratic liberalism.

The English Newspaper in War Time

By HERBERT W. HORWILL

THERE used to be a popular delusion that a war was a good thing for the papers. It solved what was commonly supposed to be an editor's chief problem—the difficulty of finding enough matter to fill his columns. This strange notion of the assistance given by a state of war to the prosperity of the newspaper press will scarcely survive the experience of the last three years. The most careless reader must have noticed the sore straits to which journalism has lately been put. Last week the *Daily Chronicle* joined the long list of papers that have doubled their price, leaving us in London with no one-cent morning papers except the *Daily News* and the *Daily Express*.

When the war broke out, the first sufferers in the journalistic world were not the proprietors or editors, but the general contributors. Unless he could switch on his interests to military matters, the free lance or space writer found no market for his wares. Regular members of the staff who were responsible for sections relating to literature, or social questions, or the fashions were confronted by the sudden failure of any demand for what they could supply. Reporters discovered that nobody wanted any accounts of lectures or meetings. After a time these difficulties righted themselves in large measure. The public attention could not be wholly and continuously absorbed in fighting, and the mere desire for some relief from the pressure of military concerns brought about a restoration of the usual paragraphs about the affairs of everyday life, though not by any means to their previous scale of importance.

As the war went on, its burden fell more and more heavily upon newspaper publishers and editors. They were hampered by the increasing scarcity and cost of raw material, by the difficulty of transport and distribution through the depleted train services, and by the reduction of their editorial and mechanical staff through enlistment and conscription. The rise in the price of print paper has proved the most serious handicap of all. In announcing its proposed change, the *Chronicle* reported the other day that paper had gone up 500 per cent. since August, 1914. Early in 1916 the Government found it necessary to control the supply. In order to save tonnage, the importation of paper, wood-pulp, and other paper-making materials was prohibited except under special licenses to be issued by a Paper Commission, and purchasers of these various kinds of material were rationed on the basis of their 1914 consumption. At first the ratio permitted was two-thirds, but in the case of paper itself, as distinct from paper-making materials, it was afterwards reduced to one-half, and, later still, to one-third. These limitations have been severely felt. At the last annual meeting of the Newspaper Press Fund, Lord Burnham, the proprietor of the *Daily Telegraph*, went so far as to say that the newspapers had been the biggest sufferers from Government regulations, more than any other trade in the country. The growing scarcity of paper has been accompanied by a marked decline in its quality. Not only newspaper printers but book printers have to be con-

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tent in these days with whatever kind of stuff they can get. You will notice that in the current issues of even some of the standard books of reference the ink runs if you try to make a note or an interlineation. It has not smoothed matters to discover that the Government itself has been one of the chief offenders as regards the waste of good material. Not long ago there lay on a wharf at Bermondsey Wall a huge stack of more than fifty tons of printed matter—posters, handbills, official forms, etc.—which had been discarded by the abortive National Service Propaganda. There were even dumped there, ready for pulping, massive quarto calf-bound ledgers of the finest quality paper, for which an ordinary firm would pay from $15 to $20, and in which not more than twenty or thirty pages had been used. It is fair to say that at last the authorities seem to have awakened to the necessities of economy. The Controller of the Stationery Office has decided to discontinue the use of foolscap for official correspondence, and Civil Servants have been instructed to write on both sides, to use narrow spacing when they employ the typewriter, and to be sparing in their consumption of envelopes.

There were two obvious means by which the newspapers could meet the new situation. They could provide against the increased cost of raw material either by decreasing their size or by raising their price. Many eight-page daily papers were cut down to four pages. Unnecessary portraits and illustrations were omitted. "Special" articles, which used to occupy a whole column, were compressed into half that length. One of the most awkward problems was how to carry out this condensation without sacrificing too much of the income derived from advertisements, and the task of allotting space in a satisfactory proportion must have caused anxious consultations in many offices. The *Spectator* solved the problem by decreasing its total number of pages, allowing the same amount of reading matter as before, and reducing the space allotted to advertisements, but with a rise in its scale of advertising charges. The reduction in size of so many papers is generally recognized as a misfortune. Nowadays, for instance, there is only one paper that can find room to give the casualty lists in full. A few months ago the Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Munitions publicly regretted that the shortage of paper had limited the space the press could give to the consideration of labor questions—*e. g.*, the problem of dilution—and had been a serious handicap to the Government in keeping the nation informed of the considerations that guided their policy.

The expedient of a rise in price has been widely adopted. It was stated last June that since the beginning of the war 72 dailies and 445 weeklies had made this change. The *Times* raised its price first from two cents to three cents and later to four cents. The *Morning Post*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror*, the *Daily Sketch*, and several of the leading provincial dailies have gone up 100 per cent. Some of the higher-priced papers have encouraged the formation of reading circles in order that their influence might not suffer although their circulation might decline. The *Queen*, the leading weekly paper devoted to women's interests, accompanied the raising of its price from sixpence to a shilling by devising a "linked subscriptions" scheme. A copy is sent out in a double postal wrapper with two addresses and two stamps. It is posted on Friday to one address, and is transmitted by the first reader the next Tuesday to the other. The trouble is that most people prefer to be the second member of such a pair, in order that they may be able to keep the paper. There have consequently been many more applications for the second subscription than for the first. In a great many cases, of course, papers have both reduced their size and raised their price. They have all promised—and they all doubtless intend—to resume the old size and price after the war, but one may reasonably doubt whether circumstances will not be too strong for them, in view of the general scarcity of all kinds of raw material that is likely to persist for many years after peace returns.

A minor saving in paper has been effected by many papers by means of their refusal to accept "returns" any longer from the news agents. Among the weekly papers especially, the practice of an annual postal subscription has been much less usual in England than in America. A large proportion of the circulation is made through news agents, copies being sent out by the publishers "for sale or return." In order to lessen the waste of unsold copies, the publishers are now limiting their output to the number that has been definitely ordered, and the news agents, with a few exceptions—mainly the railway bookstalls—are accordingly ceasing to cater for the casual purchaser. The Government has compelled a further economy by prohibiting the "contents bills," which were previously so prominent a feature of the English newspaper business. It so happened that in the very first week in which this prohibition was in force there occurred the fall of Bagdad and the Russian revolution—events that would have given an exceptional opportunity to the specialists who used to prepare these placards. The news venders who ply their trade at the street corners have had to devise methods of their own to supply the gap. Some of them have used slates, and others have announced the events of the day by writing notices in chalk on boards or on the sidewalk.

There have been a few instances—very few—of the amalgamation of two local weekly papers that would have been unable to survive separately. The most remarkable case is the union of two Middlesex weeklies of opposite political opinions and traditions. Many journals—especially trade papers, denominational organs, and publications of societies—have collapsed altogether. While there has been this heavy mortality rate among papers already in existence, a few new papers have been started and have gained an enormous circulation. Some clever exploiters of the public mind were acute enough to notice that the war had killed Sabbatarianism. When Sunday-school teachers, with the approval of their ecclesiastical superiors, were spending the day of rest in making munitions, and when everybody was as keen to get war news on Sunday mornings as on other days, it was clear that the religious objection to Sunday papers had been greatly weakened. At least three new Sunday papers have been started to take advantage of this change of feeling. One of them began with a million copies and has since gone beyond two and a half millions. These newcomers began their operations before there were any restrictions on the supply of raw material, and they were able to procure a good deal of paper by buying up licenses from persons who did not happen to require all the material to which they were entitled. In April last, however, a new regulation was issued prohibiting the publication of any new newspaper without special permission, so there will be no opportunity for any further ventures of this kind.

London, November 28

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Coöperation Between Congress and Executive

By LINDSAY ROGERS

CONGRESS is by no means satisfied with the distinctly subordinate position which it occupies with reference to the administration of the war. Its functions have been confined to raising revenue, making appropriations, blocking out policies for the raising of an army, food control, etc., and granting enormous powers to the Executive. All this has been done under what amounts to Presidential dictatorship, and it is entirely against the inclination of Congress as a whole or the individual members willingly to accept effacement. The legislature wishes to share in the conduct of the war.

But more important than this desire not to have the powers of a "coördinate branch" of the American Government diminished, is the fact that Congress retains but a very nebulous check upon the activities of the various departments and war commissions, and upon the President himself. Granting the largest appropriations in history, Congress desires to know how they are spent. The speed and unanimity with which the House of Representatives a few weeks ago agreed to the appointment of a special committee to investigate the shipment of defective ammunition to General Pershing is indicative of something more than a desire to embarrass the Administration. Congress sincerely feels that, while dictatorial powers must be granted to the Executive, it should retain some right of supervision, since, in cases of disaster, blame will rest not only on those officials who have misused their authority, but in part, also, upon the body which delegated its own functions without adequate safeguard. Yet, as President Wilson very clearly pointed out while he was a teacher of politics, "Congress stands almost helplessly outside of the departments. . . . Hostile or designing officials can always hold it at arm's length by dexterous evasions and concealments." Never was this more true than at the present time.

A Committee on the Conduct of the War, composed of five members of each house and with its authority limited to the supervision of expenditures, was objected to by Mr. Wilson. It would, he said, render his task of conducting the war practically impossible; it would "amount to nothing less than an assumption on the part of the legislative body of the executive work of the Administration"; responsibility could not be divided, and very properly Congress gave in and refused to insist upon this rider to the Food Control bill. Further attempts to create a general Congressional committee will doubtless meet with the same opposition and consequent defeat; it might furnish an effective check, but delays, friction, and embarrassment to the Executive would be unavoidable. Even more certain, however, is the fact that Congressional committees to investigate various questions, or the committees of each house on expenditures in the various departments which are now moribund, but which could be used, will not solve the problem of controlling the Executive. They might assign responsibility for mistakes, but they would not operate to prevent errors in the future. Nevertheless, as President Wilson himself very keenly appreciated, the problem is a vital one, and, if possible, some solution ought to be reached.

In England the situation is different. There the executive and legislative departments are in close union; the executive is part of the legislature and the legislature does its bidding. If one thinks that the American Congress has done well since April—and according to our standards it has done wonders—one should examine the record of the British Parliament, which, following the declaration of war, passed thirty-seven important statutes in seventeen working days. The bill declaring a moratorium was rushed through all its stages and received the royal assent in one day; and many other measures were adopted with almost no debate. The reasons for this Parliamentary effacement are, it may be said summarily, that the executive, with permanent, expert assistance in the drafting of measures, is accustomed to initiate legislation and to insist upon its passage with no substantial changes; that defeat means a change of government or perhaps an appeal to the people; that minorities and individual legislators do not receive the rights accorded them under the American system, and that since August, 1914, a disregard of party advantage, and since May, 1915, a coalition Government, have in a large measure stifled all effective opposition.

But, although the English House of Commons has declined to the point where some eminent publicists insist that it is destined to remain inanimate and powerless, the danger to democratic institutions is not nearly so great as that of a similar effacement of Congress. In England the legislature controls the executive, and one of the distinctive features of the Cabinet system is that the Ministers stand or fall together. They are the leaders of their party, but they are also its trustees. Their responsibility is joint; an attack on the conduct of one Minister is an attack on the Government—at least this has been so up to the inauguration of Mr. Lloyd George's smaller war Cabinet—and the legislature can thus force the Government out of office on account of the inefficiency of one department. Consequently, it is a matter of party importance to have in charge of all branches of the Administration persons possessing the confidence of the legislature, and to see to it that their acts do not shake this confidence. Many of the Cabinet changes in England during the last three years have been owing to a lack of Parliamentary and popular approval of certain officials. In the United States, on the other hand, only Congressional resolutions calling for information, investigating committees, interference with appropriations requested, or public opinion, which must be outraged before it is effective, may be used to control the Administration. These are inadequate and dangerous expedients, and in the last analysis only the cumbersome machinery of impeachment will suffice to remove officials who retain the confidence of the President.

That the President and his appointees hold their offices by the calendar and not through legislative, and ultimately popular, acquiescence may be, in some respects, a distinctive merit of the American system. It reduces the untoward effects of popular but ignorant passion which changes to approval when time justifies the wisdom of the apparently erroneous decision. But the fact remains that the American Constitution fails to provide any efficient check on executive action, and, whether or no Congress is in session, we are now, as a result of legislative delegation and constitutional authority, living under a government by executive

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dictators. That they attempt to do their best and that President Wilson listens to public opinion makes the fact none the less true, but only less alarming.

Now, all this does not mean to intimate in any way that democracies should not take the necessary measures, however radical and autocratic, to eliminate the delays and dissensions which seem to be their fate when called upon to organize for a great war. In time of crisis a wrong decision is sometimes no worse than a delayed decision; responsibility must be concentrated under what are admittedly inadequate safeguards; public discussion must be reduced if not eliminated so that military information may not reach the enemy; innumerable restrictions on personal liberty must be cheerfully endured, and consent must be given for governmental interference with business on a scale which, in normal times, would be instantly condemned. Yet should not every reasonable effort be made—keeping these necessities clearly in view—to enable members of the legislature, the direct representatives of the people, to have an adequate grasp of what is being done to carry on the war, to have just as complete a knowledge as is possible of the purposes of their Government; in short, to keep these two great departments which are separated by the American Constitution in close and sympathetic harmony? This problem has been seriously discussed in every one of the democratic nations now at war with Germany, and if it is important in countries which have Cabinet responsibility, how much more fundamental is it in the United States, where Congress stands helplessly outside the executive departments?

The nearest approach to a solution seems to have been arrived at in France through an extension of the old system of Parliamentary committees. These are chosen in a complicated manner. Each of the French chambers is divided into *Bureaux*, of equal size, every member receiving one assignment by lot. Committees are elected by these *Bureaux*, each of which is entitled to elect one or, in the case of important committees, two or three of its members. The *Bureaux* are chosen afresh every month by lot, but in practice, for obvious reasons, it has been found necessary to have the committees virtually permanent. To them all legislation must be submitted before it is introduced in the chambers; Ministers have no right to be present at the meetings, but they are invited when they wish to express their views, and the committees claim the privilege of volunteering advice, examining books and papers, and supervising administration. In the past such a system has not worked with entire success. As President Lowell pointed out in his study of "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe," these committees are inconsistent with the principle of Parliamentary government—that Ministers may present their policies to the legislative chambers and stand or fall by reason of the resulting decision. With such committees Ministers have little influence; there have been frequent dissensions, and it has been said that harmony exists only when the Ministers accede to the wishes of the committees. Nevertheless, since the outbreak of the war the system seems to have developed some unexpected merits, and the adoption of it, in some modified form, has been strongly urged upon the English House of Commons. Writing to the London *Times* two years ago, Lord Murray of Elibank, who had just returned from a visit to France, was enthusiastic as to its advantages.

> These Commissions [he said] work in conjunction with every department of the State. During the last three months a new departure has been made by the establishment of an "Inter-Commission" representing more particularly the Commissions of Foreign Affairs, War, and Marine. This Commission sits in secret *séance* on an average of three times a week; it consists of thirty-six members of the Lower House, with a chairman and secretary. As it is the custom for Ministers to appear before the Commissions from which the Inter-Commission has sprung, so it has become the practice for this newly constituted body to invite to its deliberations the parliamentary heads of departments and others whose opinions might be considered of value. I give an example: The Ministers for War and Marine appeared before the Inter-Commission to discuss the Dardanelles Expedition. Further, all questions affecting the war, whether from the point of view of the supply of men, armaments, or munitions—in fact, everything affecting the policy and progress of the war—are subjects of well-informed discussion before this Commission. It is this plan of the Inter-Commission that I would respectfully urge upon the consideration of his Majesty's Government.

If such a body were instituted, Lord Murray argued, it would sit in secret *séance* and would be kept in touch with matters of national importance by the respective Ministers. "Under this scheme," he thought, "Ministers would benefit by the fresher ideas and stimulus of their unofficial Parliamentary colleagues, who would thus be brought into confidence in a manner not prejudicial to the operations of the war, while the House of Parliament would feel that steps had been taken for more effective Parliamentary consultation than hitherto, and those who had complained that the country is the victim of secret knowledge entrusted to a few official individuals would be in some measure satisfied." Debates, when they arose in the House of Commons, would be better informed, and finally, Lord Murray said: "If the war is to be waged by a Parliamentary Government and not by a dictator, some system must be devised to bring the representatives of the people more into the confidence of the Cabinet, and I believe that the French have reached the best possible solution."

A Foreign Affairs Committee to advise with the Cabinet on treaties has long been mooted in England in order to provide some Parliamentary supervision of foreign policy, but while the French proposal has been strongly urged, it has not been seriously considered by Mr. Asquith's or Mr. Lloyd George's Government. Two halfway experiments have been tried. In April, 1916, there were secret sittings of the House of Commons, at which the Government presented facts and arguments concerning the necessity for conscription which it was not thought desirable to make public. The experiment was not such as to encourage repetition. Secrecy could not long be maintained, and public discussion is the essence of Parliamentary government. On June 2 of the same year, however, Lord Kitchener held a conference with members of the House of Commons. About two hundred attended voluntarily, made a gentleman's agreement not to take notes or to divulge any information, and listened to Lord Kitchener while he discussed the problems of the war in a simple and straightforward manner, answering questions when it was possible for him to do so. Three days later the ship bearing him to Russia was sunk and the great soldier disappeared.

How fruitful this experiment, initially successful, might have been, no one knows. It was an informal approach to the French plan, which undoubtedly makes for greater confidence and harmony between the Executive and legislature. Why could not something of the sort be attempted in the United States? Congress will hardly consent to the proposal frequently made and renewed the other day by Senator

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McLean, that the Cabinet members and chairmen of the more important boards and commissions be entitled to occupy seats on the floor of Congress with the privilege of engaging in debate on matters relating to their departments, and the duty of answering questions. And with the present committee chairmen frequently hostile to the Administration's programme, it is doubtful whether any beneficial results would follow informal and confidential consultations between Cabinet members and Congressional committees. A change in the seniority rule governing committee chairmanships is highly desirable, but if men in sympathy with the Administration were chosen, they would simply give the President a greater control over Congress.

Would it not be possible, however, for the department heads—those officials directly charged with the mobilization of America for war—to try Lord Kitchener's experiment and meet the members of Congress who desired to attend for frank conferences? It would not be difficult, under the voluntary newspaper censorship, to keep these deliberations absolutely secret. Without resorting to formal committees as have the French, without being able to hold the Government responsible for the activities of separate departments as in England, and without the worry and publicity of Cabinet members appearing on the floor of Congress, Congress would become better informed, more sympathetic to the aims of the Administration, more inclined to delegate dictatorial authority, and less anxious about its misuse; it would be more inclined to pass laws exactly as they were desired by the Executive, and it would feel that it was not standing helplessly away from the departments, but was informally asserting some check upon them. Formal investigations, embarrassing to the Executive and disquieting to the people, would be less necessary. Democratic autocracy, if I may use this hybrid, would then be more palatable and perhaps more efficient.

Correspondence

What an American Soldier Reads

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Naturally the article on "What Do Soldiers Read?" in the *Nation* of October 25, appealed to me with peculiar interest. What I read, wherewithal I while away my hours of leisure, that is one of my largest little problems. I set myself a certain vague standard, and only very seldom, when none of my genuine "eligibles" are obtainable, am I compelled to resort to books of no particular reputation.

Perhaps the *Nation* would like to have my list, carefully kept, of the books I have read since my arrival in France in July, 1915. I consider it rather an accomplishment:

"The Cloister and the Hearth," Reade; "Toilers of the Sea," Hugo; "Adam Bede," Eliot; "Adrian Savage," "Lucas Mallet"; "Last Days of Pompeii," Bulwer-Lytton; "Incomparable Bellairs," A. and E. Castle; "If Youth but Knew," A and E. Castle; "Tale of Two Cities," Dickens; "The American," James; "Hard Times," Dickens; "Pictures from Italy," Dickens; "Sense and Sensibility," Austen; "Lorna Doone," Blackmore; "Thaddeus of Warsaw," Porter; "Théâtre, Choisi de" (2 vols., 12 plays, in French), Corneille; "Owd Bob," Oliphant; "A Son of Hagar," Caine; "The Right of Way," Parker; "Seats of the Mighty," Parker; "When Valmond Came to Pontiac," Parker; "Donovan Pasha," Parker; "The Marriage of William Ashe," Ward; "Woodstock," Scott; "The King's Mirror," Hope; "Let the Roof Fall In," Denby; "Jeanne" (in French), Sand; "Westward Ho!" C. Kingsley; "Vailima Letters," Stevenson; "Sketch Book," Irving; "The Bible in Spain," Borrow; "Ravenshoe," H. Kingsley; "Le Père Serge" (in French), Tolstoy.

Periodicals—*The Nation, Life, Punch, London Opinion.*

And of more or better, what need has any man?

Some of these books I found in hospitals, some I bought almost in the trenches where civilians still clung to the wreckage, some I borrowed from Y. M. C. A. libraries, some I raked out of the jaws of "death by incinerator," some I swapped with comrades, and others I simply "acquired" (whereof the less said the better).

The best and largest Y. M. C. A. library I have ever seen in France is at 31, Avenue Montaigne, in Paris, and American soldiers of literary bent should consider themselves fortunate in the way their needs have there been met. During my ten days' leave to Paris, the American Y. M. C. A. was the chief centre of interest. One may read the *Nation* there, too.

If you consider that any of the above facts would have more than a limited interest, it might be well to communicate them in whole or in part to people in New York. They constitute one experience among many thousands; perhaps they are not even approximately typical. They are merely the reply of "One who has done so" to the question, "What Do Soldiers Read?"

RUNDALL M. LEWIS

Somewhere in France, November 25

Our Provincial Education

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Professor Judd was undoubtedly right in saying, in the *Nation* for December 13, that foreign languages are badly taught in many of our urban elementary schools. But it may be doubted whether he was right in asserting that the introduction of such languages in the schools was because, as he says, "somebody from Europe wanted it done for reasons nationalistic but not American." Is it un-American to teach foreign languages to American school children?

On the contrary, it ought to be decidedly the American school policy to teach American children a good deal about non-American peoples and institutions. It is one of the sins of our national life that we as a people know so little about non-American affairs. Take the man in the street—the product of our American schools—and how clearly, if he knows it at all, does he know the difference between the flexible parliamentary system of government as exemplified in Great Britain and the fixed-term system of our government? A monarchy is a monarchy. England and Germany are monarchies; therefore they are both alike in government! Guatemala and Switzerland are both republics; therefore they are alike in form and substance! The man in the street can perhaps tell you where Berlin and Dresden are on the map, but if you ask him about plural voting and responsibility of the German Prime Minister to the people, he is in the densest ignorance. Suppose you ask for a comparison of the power of the German Emperor and the British King in actual government—and what is the answer from your average American voter—the man who in the aggregate ultimately determines the position of America in the world, and occasionally, as in the present case, almost determines the state of world civilization?

It was nothing but the abysmal ignorance of the Ameri-

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can people on foreign affairs that stayed Mr. Wilson's hand from declaring war long before he did. He had to wait until our people could grasp the true inwardness of the international situation and the relation of America to the rest of the world—because the American schools had not done their duty towards the American child in the past.

In the case of German, while there may have been more or less propaganda work, Americans without a trace of German blood in their veins or the slightest admiration for German methods favored the study of foreign languages, hoping that thereby young Americans might know something about peoples and institutions outside the United States. By the same token there is a strong demand among alert school men for modern European history and elementary political science in the public schools. If that sort of work had been well done a generation ago, thousands of lives and millions of treasure might have been spared for America.

E. L. C. MORSE

Chicago, Ill., December 20

Whitman's First Free Verse

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has been commonly said that Walt Whitman was the father of modern free verse, and that his first published free-verse poem was "Blood-Money," his second being "Wounded in the House of Friends," both of which he reprinted in his *Collect*. But the true date of the first publication of these poems has never been known. The date assigned in the *Collect* to the former, April, 1843, is so wofully incorrect as to remind us again that Whitman had no memory for dates.

The first appearance of these two poems has recently been discovered. "Blood-Money" was originally published, over the signature "Walter Whitman," in the supplement to the daily edition of Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune* on March 22, 1850. Although the editor called attention to several features of interest to be found in the Supplement, he had nothing to say of the single and singular poem in it which began a movement in literature the proportions of which the discerning Greeley could not, of course, forecast. I say the discerning Greeley, for he was one of the first, if not the first, to recognize Whitman as a new force in literature. Not only did he honor himself by publishing in quick succession these unrhymed, irregular, and for the most part unmetrical poems some five years before Emerson "discovered" the new bard, but he went so far as to champion, in a lecture in the 1850's, "Walt Whitman's rare poetic genius"—a championship which cost the lecturer a severe ridiculing. One wonders whether Whitman adopted the Greeley hat—the "wide-awake"—in perpetual acknowledgment of this chivalrous treatment of his muse.

"Wounded in the House of Friends" first appeared as "The House of Friends," signed "Walter Whitman," in the *Tribune* of June 14, 1850. The original version contains two passages which the author saw fit to omit in the *Collect* reprint. One of these excised passages I quote:

> Vaunters of the Free,
> Why do you strain your lungs off southward?
> Why be going to Alabama?
> Sweep first before your own door;
> Stop this squalling and this scorn
> Over the mote there in the distance;
> Look well to your own eye, Massachusetts—
> Yours, New-York and Pennsylvania;
> —I would say yours too, Michigan,
> But all the salve, all the surgery
> Of the great wide world were powerless there.

These sentiments were, in general, those of Emerson on the subject of slavery.

A third free-verse poem was printed in the *Tribune* on June 21, 1850. It was called "Resurgemus," and was signed "Walter Whitman." It now appears in the collected editions of the author's poems under the title "Europe, the 72d and 73d Years of These States," with few alterations in the phraseology but many in the line-length. Even in its original form it reveals the fact that Whitman had already made the unit of thought the measure of his line, and that something more than a rudimentary rhythm had been evolved. The theme, it is to be noted, is a characteristic Whitman theme—revolt, liberty, democracy, the future.

These three poems were, so far as I have been able to discover, the first of Whitman's free-verse poems to be published; but they were not the first to be written. There is another, "New Year's Day, 1848," written in an album in that year, but not published until the time of the poet's death (in the New York *Home Journal* of March 30, 1892). Still another is "Isle of La Belle Riviere," written on Blennerhasset Island, in the Ohio, and dated "April 30" (first published in the Cincinnati *Post*, on April 30, 1892). This date of composition would seem to indicate that the poem was written on one of the all-but-unknown visits which Whitman paid to the South after his trip to New Orleans in 1848, for this latter visit came to an end when Whitman was not yet twenty-nine years old. A still more illuminating record of the development of the famous first edition of "Leaves of Grass" is to be found in a notebook of Whitman's (now before me), dated 1847, the year before the poet's well-known but much overrated visit to New Orleans. In it are preserved many lines and passages that, in slightly altered form, were in 1855 woven into the poems of the first edition. This material, together with a large collection of poems and prose pieces, all of which have until now remained uncollected, many of which have hitherto been unknown, and not a few which date back to the very beginning of Whitman's literary career in 1839, will before long be published in a form that will make them accessible to students of this poet, whose real development has been so obscure to critic and to biographer alike.

EMORY HOLLOWAY

Adelphi College, Brooklyn, November 3

An Explanation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your edition of November 29 contains a review of my study, "The French Criticism of American Literature before 1850." Will you allow me a little space for an explanation of the intention of my book and of the selection of materials used?

My interest in the various American writers and in their French critics, as individuals, was only secondary. What I sought to determine was the point of view of the French in their contact with the United States as a literary nation. To get this *idée moyenne* I thought it necessary to discount such criticism as was made from another point of view than

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the literary one. Thus, a careful examination of many years of the files of the *Journal des Débats* convinced me that the political intention of this periodical generally influenced its reviews. Further, among the literary journals, it was imperative to abandon those which seemed prejudiced for or against a literary school. The *Globe* was perhaps the most tempting of all the periodicals of the time, but it represented anything rather than the *idée moyenne*. I investigated, often very minutely, about five times as many periodicals as are cited in my bibliography. On the other hand, a complete account was given of all the files noted there.

The books on the United States were extremely numerous, but those treating of American literature, in theory or in detail, are surprisingly few. The prevalent idea appears to have been, that literature as understood in Europe was not to be expected of the new land. But I have reported some notable criticism which served as a corrective to this view.

On p. viii I made the following statement:

> . . . these periodicals have been selected merely as containing judgments fairly representative of the general French idea of our literature. Not only is no complete bibliography intended—although such a work would have been much appreciated had it existed—but no analysis is attempted of many articles or books touching the subject. . . . The present volume . . . is intended to supply a general view of its department of French criticism until the bibliography shall have been made.

I omitted certain interesting notices, such as the article by Balzac mentioned by your reviewer. These I hope to note, before long, in a continuation of the study. But I can state that they do not change, or even modify, the views I have expressed regarding the attitude of the old civilization towards the new one, which was trying to express itself in a literature. HAROLD ELMER MANTZ

New York, December 7

Joseph Young Bergen

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Joseph Young Bergen, widely known as an educator and author of several textbooks of high excellence, died at his home in Cambridge, Mass., October 10, 1917. He was born at Red Beach, Me., February 22, 1851, and graduated from Antioch College in 1872. His first scientific work was done on the Ohio Geological Survey. In 1887 he became a teacher of physics in the Boston Latin School and as a result of his experience in this field produced in collaboration with Prof. E. H. Hall, of Harvard University, a textbook of physics which has passed through three editions and is now widely used in secondary schools. For many years he was an instructor in biology in the Boston English High School. In collaboration with his wife, Fanny Dickerson Bergen, he published several essays on the evolutionary theory, and in 1896 he brought out under the title of "Elements of Botany" the first of a series of notable textbooks upon this subject. This work in somewhat modified form later bore the title "Essentials of Botany." In 1901 he published his "Foundations of Botany"—a more extended text including an abbreviated flora for school use; subsequently, with the collaboration of Dr. O. W. Caldwell, "Practical Botany," and with Prof. Bradley M. Davis, "Principles of Botany."

It is probable that no textbooks dealing with botany have been more widely used in America during the last two decades than these prepared by Mr. Bergen. They have to a great extent taken the place of the widely known textbooks of Dr. Asa Gray, which, notable in their time, were too exclusively confined to morphology and taxonomy to permit their satisfactory use in modern school laboratories. The excellence of Mr. Bergen's textbooks is clearly owing to prolonged personal experience in actual teaching in secondary schools, to wide sympathy with the needs both of teacher and of pupil, scholarly familiarity with the various fields into which botany has become subdivided, sound judgment, and fine sense of proportion, as well as untiring effort for clarity in both letterpress and illustrations.

About 1901 Mr. Bergen retired from active teaching and spent several years in southern Italy, where he was able to enjoy the facilities for scientific study afforded by the Biological Station at Naples. Returning to Cambridge, Mass., in 1904, he lived in retirement, devoting much time to the revision and elaboration of his textbooks.

He had a wide circle of scientific friends and correspondents, and his judgment was very often sought on matters connected with evolution and with the teaching of biology. Although honored by election to several scientific societies of prominence, Mr. Bergen was rarely able to attend their meetings. In 1915 he was chosen one of the members of the visiting committee of the botanical department of Harvard University. He was the author of a number of scientific papers, chiefly in the field of ecology, all of which evince thoughtful presentation based upon close and original observations. He was master of a clear and forceful style. BENJAMIN L. ROBINSON

Harvard University, November 15

BOOKS

Legal Aspects of the Violation of Belgian Neutrality

First Violations of International Law by Germany: Luxembourg and Belgium. By Louis Renault. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. 75 cents net.

THIS study shares with the work of De Visscher the distinction of giving the best account of the legal aspects of the violation of Belgian neutrality. It is the first of a series to be published by a "Committee for the Defence of International Law," to reëstablish legal truth distorted by theorists "in the service of our enemies." It maintains a very high standard, and is in accordance with the best academic traditions of the science of law. As De Visscher was able to write with the fair and judicial calmness of one who had not witnessed the destruction of his country, so this brochure gives what might be expected of the Faculty of Law in the University of Paris. Clearness and simplicity in these essays hide rather than reveal the profound learning and mastery behind them.

What contrast to the quibbles of German jurists and others! "We desire . . . not to render like for like," says Zitelmann, "not to return barbarism for barbarism, but to finish the war, as we have commenced it, in a knightly way and in conformity with the customs of international law and with the duties assumed by treaties." According

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to Baron de Welck, nothing bound Belgium to resist, she could have satisfied herself with a protest! To Grasshof her resistance is incomprehensible; an error of policy must have caused it. Professor Köhler, a jurist of great reputation, declares that the independence of a state does not exclude certain charges like the duty of permitting passage of troops; that the guarantee of Belgium's neutrality did not prohibit such passage; that in this respect Belgium ought not to be treated otherwise than any non-neutralized state!

Moreover, the existence of Germany is not to be weighed against a merely trifling infringement of the territorial sovereignty of Belgium. It was necessity, says Schoenborn, and necessity justifies the violation of any treaty of neutrality! In Rathgen's opinion the neutrality of Belgium had disappeared in consequence of acquiring the Congo. The subtlety of the schoolman is in Norden: there may be an impenetrable neutrality and a permeable neutrality; inviolability of territory is not necessarily involved; there was no obligation on Belgium to oppose the passage of Germans. Well may Professor Renault declare that he is ashamed to refute such contentions. "If we go to the conclusion of the captious reasonings thus presented . . . a state can free itself of every engagement, contractual or otherwise, as soon as it thinks the fulfilment of that engagement contrary to its interest." And what shall be said of the other contentions he speaks of made by "an American jurist, or at least one calling himself such," that by the temporary Treaty of 1870 the earlier neutralization became obsolete; and by one associated with the prestige of a great university who asserted that Prussia's engagement did not bind the German Empire, a thesis forgotten with contempt, though not before it had gained for its author the renown which Thersites once had? Always one goes to the Chancellor's statement, which will persist long after subservient German professors or truckling partisans abroad. Maximilian Harden was right: from that admission "neither God nor the Devil will ever set us free."

In such a book there cannot be much that is new. Its value lies in its being a comprehensive treatise by one who knows and can write with fairness and truth. A host of writers have sought to justify Germany by obscuring and misrepresentation; hence books like this one must often be written. The author quotes what another had taken from Goethe: "It is necessary constantly to repeat things that are true, because error renews her statements without ceasing around us, and her channels are not mere individuals but masses of people."

There is an excellent chapter about Luxembourg. This violation did not attract much attention, partly because the little state resigned itself to what it considered inevitable. But here was a deed for which Germany could never give proper excuse, and which some have considered her most indefensible action. The greater part of the book concerns Belgium. The author points out what has been clearly explained by Mr. Beck, and what should always be remembered first of all, that we put ourselves upon too narrow ground in criticising Germany merely with respect to her particular treaties. "She was bound to respect Belgian territory independently of all treaties, and by penetrating therein she has committed, by that very fact, an attempt condemned by international law." This is the first premise: it is not necessary to invoke special engagements or the Hague Convention. As a matter of fact the fault was far more grievous because Germany violated not only a general and fundamental obligation, but a particular one which she had pledged her good faith to observe and also to maintain and defend. In doing this she broke promise and honor, and despite after pleas, in spite of the worthless documents of Brussels and the dastardly attempt to put upon Belgians the crime which Germans had done, all evidence points to the doing of this thing solely for the sake of getting great military advantage, and there is every reason to believe that this military procedure was planned long ahead and decided some time in advance.

The glittering triumphs which Germany has gained for the present result largely from this violation. But at what cost—to herself and the rest of the world! Scarcely a nation respects her, perhaps none trust her, and most of the world is in arms partly because it would fight to save something of international justice and confidence built up so slowly through so many centuries of the past, now so largely in ruins. "At the return of peace," says Zitelmann, "it will be victorious Germany on whom will rest the great and splendid task of taking the directing rôle in the reconstruction and development of international law." Alas! she has nearly destroyed what she would not maintain and had not the character to respect.

Vestigia Retrorsum

A Son of the Middle Border. By Hamlin Garland. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.60 net.

THIS, in several aspects, is clearly among the notable American books of the year. As an antobiography, as a literary chronicle, and as the record of an important phase of our national life, it has extraordinary merits. For one thing, it is remarkable as summing up the personality and the world of a writer who is not yet old, but has in some measure outlived himself. Even this book, from its very nature as a record of the past, will hardly prevent his being remembered as a writer of the nineties. One recalls how, as the century neared its end, this writer, with those other Middle Westerners, Frank Norris and H. B. Fuller, seemed to be finding a new and vigorous American realism; and how somehow it failed to develop in their hands. Norris, to be sure, died in his prime, and we lamented the loss of one who might have done so much more if he had lived. There is no saying now that he might not. But looking at his work from this distance one sees a fairly clear falling off in the somewhat lumbering and pretentious later stories, "The Pit" and "The Octopus." And we can but acknowledge that the author of "The Cliff Dwellers" and "In the Procession," though he still lives and writes, has been, from the critical point of view, the late H. B. Fuller almost as long as the author of "McTeague" has been "the late Frank Norris."

This would not justly be said of Hamlin Garland. He continues to write for a considerable constituency, and he remains a prominent figure in "literary circles." But—he continues and remains; as a writer of fiction he has long shown less force and freshness than his senior and master, Mr. Howells. He seems, indeed, to have been condemned since the opening of the new century either to echo his early strain rather feebly, or to make various alert and intelligent but quite uninspired experiments in new directions. But

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now he has produced a big book: a book, as we say, which sums up the author and his world, contains in full his record and interpretation of life, as a true autobiography may and should.

His is, to be sure, a figure of some strangeness, as it appears in these pages. Born of pioneer stock, bred, willy nilly, in the pioneer way, his first great need and instinct seems to have been to forsake that way, to make for the centres, to find a sort of refuge in the city from the rigors of the wilderness. And yet the one big theme of his city-trained pen was to be precisely that frontier life, that wilderness upon which he had turned an indignant back. The truth is, Mr. Garland was born, as it were, a city man. He was to be immensely responsive to the charm of landscape and to the picturesque aspects of country life; but with the responsiveness of a visitor, an outsider. His apprenticeship to the soil was no doubt a bitter one; we hear all about its bitterness in this record. But it was an apprenticeship such as millions of hardy souls have served in their time, without losing their homefelt love of the soil and of the life that is spent in its service. The boy Hamlin Garland loved the unbroken prairie, the sweeter and more natural sights and sounds of the life of the homesteader; and the man retains an extraordinarily complete memory of those sights and sounds. In this book, as in his stories, there are charming passages, vignettes of amazing delicacy, inset in the rather cumbersome fabric of his narrative: "The grasshoppers move in clouds with snap and buzz, and out of the luxurious stagnant marshes comes the ever-thickening chorus of the toads, while above them the kildees and the snipe shuttle to and fro in sounding flight. The blackbirds on the cat-tails sway and swing, uttering through lifted throats their liquid gurgle, mad with delight of the sun and the season—and over all, and laving all, moves the slow wind, heavy with the breath of the far-off blooms of other lands, a wind which covers the sunset plain with a golden entrancing haze. . . . At such times it seemed to me that we had reached the 'sunset region' of our song, and that we were indeed 'lords of the soil.'" But!—at once here as elsewhere follows the confession that it was a false seeming, that these halcyon moments could not atone for the slavery and limitation of farm life. Again and again the chronicler records his hatred for those simple processes of farm routine which the real farmer accepts with contentment if not with enthusiasm. He was resentful and ashamed to be cleaning out barns and "sitting under cows" as a boy; he is resentful and ashamed now in recalling that boyhood. He was proud and happy, presently, to have exchanged this polluted atmosphere for that of the literary area-ways of Boston; he is proud and happy as he recalls the exchange. His zeal for rescuing his family from the wilderness and planting them in a community, like his zeal, which for some time assumed a political aspect, for rescuing the Western farmer by organization, was animated always by this personal disgust, and by some sort of quaint feeling that, in a golden age of fair dealings, cows might be persuaded not to litter up barns, and calves might refrain from filling their nostrils, instead of their throats, with the proffered milk of the farmer's boy.

But when we have recognized this personal animus as affecting, not altogether happily, the flavor of the whole affair, we are free to accept and to enjoy everything else here provided. Whatever the cities may have done for the later comfort of this writer, his imagination and his emotions have but dragged a lengthening chain. The story of the elder Garland, New England born, but destined to follow always the strange westering impulse of the pioneer, has an epical quality, represents, in its terms of the local and the temporal, a deathless phase of human effort. With the single interruption of his service with the Northern army in the Civil War, Richard Garland's life was a long, and in its way ruthless, quest of a vague golden prize to be won always a little farther on. Through these pages echoes indomitably that favorite song of the Garlands and McClintocks:

> When we've wood and prairie land
> Won by our toil,
> We'll reign like kings in fairy land,
> Lords of the soil!

Again and again, therefore, we see the little tribe, under the urgence of its leader, deserting its scarce-won foothold here or there, and exposing itself, in the name of the Dream, to fresh hardships, fresh disappointments, fresh prodigies of toil cheated of their reward by human mischance or the cruelty of nature. The heroic glamour of the enterprise is conveyed in the record; but even more poignantly its tragic futility in relation to the happiness of the individual and above all of the family entity so helplessly committed to it. The Garlands and the McClintocks did not lack simple and in some measure alleviatory pleasures, evenings by the fire, rude neighborhood festivals; but we are never released from the pathos of their simplicity and rudeness, never permitted to see them as in any degree offsetting the physical limitations of that life. In short, the grandeur of the narrative seems in some measure to loom above the consciousness of the chronicler, who is here, as always, a writer of sentiment with the touch of a naturalist; an artist, moreover, with an odd grudge against his predestined materials. Quite honestly and helplessly, Mr. Garland is unable to forgive a farmhouse or a frontier shack for lacking the modern conveniences of his city club!

To feel, once more, what his predestined materials, as an artist, really are, the reader need only compare the portions of this book that deal with the frontier life of his youth with the portions that deal with the city and literary life of his early maturity. How, a spouting young "graduate" from the West, he came to Boston as to a shrine, and by painful degrees wormed his way in among the literary elect of that declining period, is here set down with much detail and enthusiasm. The result is an interesting commentary, rather richer in gossip than in criticism. It brings us only to the early nineties, when, shortly after "Main Travelled Roads" had given young Garland his audience, he began to feel the artificiality of his career as a Bostonian. The city itself had changed swiftly, the old atmosphere had vanished.

For a time the young Westerner was tempted to follow Mr. Howells and the rest to New York; but Chicago, then in a burst of literary energy and promise, was to claim him for a season. The record closes, as we have suggested, not only on a phase of American literary history, but on a moment of culmination rather than, as it then seemed, promise, in the achievement as a story-teller of this son of the Middle West. For the rest, the autobiographer is a rarer bird than the novelist; and we believe that this record may take its place among the handful of American classics in its kind.

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Supernaturalism in Fiction

The Penitent of Brent. By Michael Wood. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

THIS short novel—hardly more than novelette—surprises the analyst by the variety of its ingredients. There is a plot, which, in the nakedness of summary, reads like melodrama: the question whether a son is guilty of the parricide which he admits, and from the onus of which he is relieved by the confession of another man, is answered through the discovery that by a sort of hypnotic transfer he implanted the incentive to crime in the heart of a receptive agent. Hardly less strange is the mediæval emphasis on expiation, regenerative in purpose and beatific in its issue, but outlasting both reformation and transformation and drawing the innocent with the guilty into its rapacious vortex. Next in order is the supernatural, not the timid and temporizing supernaturalism of our day, as fugitive as its own ghosts, but a confident and buoyant supernaturalism which riots in abundance while it wantons in temerity.

The indictments are grave, and sentence seems inevitable; but the book, like its hero, combines guilt with virtue in extraordinary proportions, and its very abandonment of defence procures a half-acquittal from the touched though disapproving reader. Its self-chastening is as signal as its extravagance. The chief corrective is the religious spirit, Catholic in form and sincere at bottom, though nursed and cockered into a morbid state of tremulous and vibrating susceptibility. This devout ardor and clemency tranquillizes the melodrama, assuages the self-laceration, chastens the supernaturalism, and converts even the affectation which never wholly forsakes the style into a tender and winsome eccentricity. There is a true feeling for landscape and an address in narrative that is unmistakable. The book holds us, almost against our judgment, by its vivid and magnetic portrayal of states of mind which we are moved at the same moment to envy and deplore.

Calvin Thomas's Goethe

Goethe. By Calvin Thomas. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $2 net.

CONSCIOUSLY or unconsciously, Prof. Calvin Thomas furnishes in his "Goethe" something like a revaluation of the master. The crisis through which the world is passing reacts on the past, and even literary standards are shifting. From the war of 1870-71 Goethe emerged as Germany's supreme idol in literature, and Schiller's fame was obscured. To-day Goethe's calm philosophy and cosmopolitan outlook do not fit into the German scheme of things, while Schiller's impetuous patriotism has raised his intellectual stature in the eyes of his countrymen. An American student of literature is not likely to be swayed by such considerations, least of all one who has lectured on German poets for nearly forty years, as Professor Thomas has; yet even *his* Goethe (every scholar, he says, has his own) has changed with accumulating knowledge. "The halo that he used to wear in my mind's eye has grown a little dimmer in the lapse of years." It is difficult to arrive at a final estimate of Professor Thomas's Goethe of to-day—perhaps he would decline to assign to him his precise rank among the greatest in world-literature—but there can be no doubt of his critical attitude towards Goethe's works, as viewed singly. His outspokenness is in refreshing contrast to the unthinking adulation of which Goethe more than perhaps any other great writer has so long been the victim. While no English critic of standing has gone quite the length of Hermann Grimm, who spoke of "Faust" as "the greatest work of the greatest writer of all times and all nations," few have told such wholesome truths as Professor Thomas about uninspired productions like "Stella," "Die natürliche Tochter," and "Der Grosskophta." Fewer still can be found to speak plainly about the wooden dramatic trifles which amused Goethe's youth and perhaps served their day, but which only the magic of his name still conjures up for literary historians from well-merited oblivion. Much of Professor Thomas's comment on "Wilhelm Meister," "Faust," "Dichtung und Wahrheit," and the "West-östlicher Diwan" is also sound and illuminating, but we believe that not many critical students of German literature will subscribe to his *dicta* concerning several other famous works of Goethe.

Perhaps few of us who had our first reading of "Götz" forty years ago have retained the enthusiasm which it then evoked, but not many have had their admiration chilled to the point of declaring, with Professor Thomas, that "it is a play without great characters, great action, great passion, or great thoughts." He concedes its "breezy radicalism" and the "honest life-likeness of the scenes," and speaks of the "moderate popularity which it has enjoyed and still continues to enjoy on the stage." We suspect that Professor Thomas has in later years paid scant attention to the enthusiasm called forth by such performances of "Götz" as the art of Baumeister, at the Vienna Burgtheater, made possible. Goethe's youthful masterpiece cannot be lightly dismissed as "nothing but a literary experiment." If it was not written for the stage, all the greater its triumph in still holding the stage after the lapse of nearly a hundred and fifty years.

The author does not do full justice to the charm of Goethe's verse in "Hermann und Dorothea." Still less do the hexameters of "Reineke Fuchs" appeal to him, but it is chiefly in his remarks on the "Roman Elegies" that Professor Thomas's critical limitations become clearly manifest. "In these distichs," he says, "Goethe thinks of himself as a modern colleague of Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus." Whatever Goethe may or may not have thought about the matter—and Professor Thomas likes to indulge in such conjectures—the world thinks that he comes closer to being a modern colleague of these ancients than any other poet. At all events, it may safely be said that Goethe's mastery of language never attained greater perfection than in these superb hexameters. The remarks on the "Elective Affinities" are conventional and suggest the restraint of the classroom. There is neither praise nor blame—according to the point of view—in sufficient measure to satisfy critical requirements. Here is Professor Thomas's labored summary of Goethe's novel:

> The "Elective Affinities" is not veiled biography, but a work of the imagination strongly tinged with the tendencies of the new Romanticism. . . . On the whole, what we get is not at all a defence of physical determinism carried over into the moral sphere, but rather an object-lesson in the tragic danger of that sort of thing. Loose views of the marriage tie were just then very common in Goethe's entourage, and he himself had been something of a transgressor. He wrote the novel as a sort of imaginative penance. It is as if he were saying:

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"See how your affinity doctrine works in a case that I will show you."

How much more penetrating is Grillparzer's judgment, in such sentences as these:

What is most disturbing in the "Wahlverwandtschaften" is the offensive importance given from the very beginning to the laying out of the park, the petty architectural details, and other things of this kind—an importance equal to that of the main incidents. We feel as though we were reading a chapter from the life of Goethe himself, who partially paralyzed his incomparable gifts by taking almost as much interest in such pastimes as in the most important concerns of his real life. There must be a gradation of interest, and what is lavished on minor incidents is by so much withdrawn from the main action. . . .

But granted all this, what a wonderful masterpiece this work is! As regards knowledge of human nature, wisdom, depth of sentiment, power of description, character drawing, and poetic idealization of the apparently commonplace, no literature can show its equal. Before one has reached the age of fifty, one can scarcely fully appreciate it, but it is as much a part of the curse as of the blessing of the years of maturity that one can appreciate it then. If I could claim its authorship as a gift, I should not care to have written it.

Professor Thomas ventures into deep waters in discussing Goethe's scientific activity, which, on the whole, he strangely disparages. After quoting from the notes preparatory to the famous essay on "Plant Metamorphosis," he says: "The whole passage is typical of Goethe's unprecision in scientific matters." Great as was Goethe's fundamental error in dealing with Newton, there is imposing testimony to the accuracy and lasting importance of several of his contributions to science, and, above all, to that comprehensive insight into the workings of nature as a whole which amply atones for his failures and occasional inaccuracies. Thus, Humboldt wrote, after returning from his travels in America: "Everywhere I was possessed with the feeling . . . of how, exalted by Goethe's views of nature, I had, as it were, been provided with new organs." And Professor Thomas himself remarks:

Goethe was dreaming of primeval ice fields at least a decade before Agassiz, attracted by the work of Charpentier, built his lone hut on the Aar Glacier and began the series of investigations which resulted in opening up so many a new vista in modern geology. Both Charpentier and Agassiz acknowledged the priority of Goethe in this line of speculation.

What is most disappointing in Professor Thomas's volume is his failure to appreciate Goethe's importance as critic. He quotes passages from his writings and conversations showing his inconsistencies, and then goes on to say:

But let us spy no more upon the nodding Homer. Multiplied indefinitely, such citations could only prove that Goethe as critic, even in his old age, stood on no surer ground than the rest of us. As far as the east is from the west was he from having reduced criticism to an exact science. He continued to be, as he had been, an impressionist, a man of moods, hobbies, prejudices, limitations. It is mere myth which imputes to him an unprecedented poise of judgment or a supernormal insight into literary rules.

As against this, it is only necessary to recall the judgment of Sainte-Beuve, himself no mean critic, that Goethe was the greatest of all critics. Matthew Arnold saw in him "the clearest, largest, and most helpful thinker of modern times," and there are passages in Emerson's Journals which prove, even more incisively than the ampler characterization of Goethe in his "Essays," how fully he grasped the essence of that universal wisdom, critical as well as constructive, which is, after all, Goethe's chief title to immortality. Had Professor Thomas placed before his readers the recital, at random, of one single year's activity, as summed up by Goethe in his dry "Annals," he would have produced a deeper and, we cannot help thinking, juster impression of the poet's real importance in literature and life.

With all its limitations, however, the book is scholarly, interesting, and provocative of thought. We take it that the metrical translations in Chapter IX, reprinted from an earlier essay on Goethe, are Professor Thomas's own. They are admirable.

A Cambridge Wit

Letters of John Holmes to James Russell Lowell and Others. Edited by William Roscoe Thayer. With an Introduction by Alice M. Longfellow. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. $2.50 net.

THOSE who came late to Cambridge will remember vague rumors which reached their ears of a quaint and witty recluse living in the crooked little street called the Appian Way. He was a brother of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the intimate friend of Lowell and the other greater gods, and was supposed to carry within him, concealed from the world at large, the very quintessence of that New England spirit which was compounded of Brahma and Voltaire. Now, in this volume of his letters, he visits the world as a *revenant*, the ghost of what is really a past civilization.

If these letters are not quite, as some would have us believe, equal in flavor to Lamb's, they are at least in the same class. Good letters, we take it, may be divided into two genera. To the first genus belong those of men who have taken part in great events, like Cicero, or who have had wide intellectual interests, like Voltaire, or who are possessed by a demon of energy, like Byron. To the other genus belong those of men who are cut off from the world, more or less, and who possess what may be called the genius of little things. Sometimes the entertainment of these is in their satire, as with Horace Walpole; sometimes in their wit, as with Lamb; sometimes, as with Cowper and FitzGerald—and these perhaps are the finest of all—in their sensitive delicacy. Now, John Holmes is distinctly in the second class and of the species of Lamb. His genius is to magnify trifles by wit. One of the earliest of the letters dwells with comical mock-heroics on his occupation as "engineer to an airtight stove." Writing from Paris, he omits everything for which that city stands to the ordinary tourist, and deals with the smallest adventures that happen to him. The Appian Way of Cambridge is still more in his mind than the Louvre and Rue de Rivoli.

In the end, if the wit of these letters leaves our interest flagging somewhat, this is due to their lack of literary flavor and of intellectual background. It is astonishing how little Holmes has to say of books, how little he reflects the larger learning of the circle in which he moved. And still more we miss the sense of personal achievement which lends a kind of hidden gravity to the trifling of a Lamb or Cowper or FitzGerald. We should not expect from him, a brother of the Autocrat, the ethical and critical strain of Charles Eliot Norton's letters. "However, waiving criticism, which is the art of discontent," as he himself says, we can say that here is a book of unusual charm, which should be read by every lover of Cambridge and enjoyed by every lover of the quaint. .

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Notes

THE *Nation* Index for July-December, which heretofore has been sent out with the first issue in January, will this year be printed in a small edition and mailed only to libraries on our subscription list and to such other subscribers as apprise us of their desire for it.

"NORMAN PRINCE: An American Who Died for the Cause He Loved," with a memoir, by George F. Babbitt, is announced for publication in the near future by Houghton Mifflin Company.

Little, Brown & Company will publish early in January the following volumes: "Cabin Fever," by B. M. Bower; "The Wolf-Cub," by Patrick and Terence Casey; "Pawns of War," a play, by Bosworth Crocker; "A Yankee in the Trenches," by Corporal R. Derby Holmes, and "Letters of a Canadian Stretcher Bearer," by "R. A. L."

Henry Holt & Company will publish in the new year "Some Modern Novelists," by Helen Thomas Follett and Wilson Follett, and "Moral Values," by W. G. Everett.

"HONEST ABE: A Study in Integrity," by Alonzo Rothschild (Houghton Mifflin; $2), is a fragment, the narrative having been completed, at the author's death, only to the time of Lincoln's election to Congress. So far as it goes, however, the work is an admirable presentation of the human, everyday side of Lincoln's early career, enriched with the wealth of good stories which, for men and women as well as for boys and girls, bear telling again and again. Mr. John Rothschild has added a memoir of his father; and there is a considerable bibliography as well as an appendix of useful notes.

IT would be difficult within the limited compass of thirty small pages to give a more comprehensive outline of Russian economic and political conditions than is done by Professor Vinogradoff in "The Russian Problem" (Dutton; 75 cents net). As a Russian liberal, who a score of years ago had to give up an honorable position in the University of Moscow on account of his opinions, and who since then has been the distinguished successor of Bishop Stubbs at Oxford, Professor Vinogradoff speaks with historical sense and with authority. As his pamphlet was written many months before the Russian revolution (of which he had no inkling), it does not deal with the immediate problem of the Maximalists and their doings. But in its account of the peasants, zemstvos, and Duma, and their shortcomings, it does furnish a good background and give some clue to the forces which have brought Russia to the present abyss.

TWENTY-TWO former students, of whom twenty-one are professors and instructors of philosophy in as many colleges and universities, have united in producing a volume of "Philosophical Essays in Honor of James Edwin Creighton" (Macmillan; $2), of the Sage School of Philosophy of Cornell University, in commemoration of twenty-five years of service as teacher and scholar. Professor Creighton's services to the study of philosophy in America have been of a very solid kind. Besides his large share in giving the Sage School a distinct standing among schools of philosophy, and a textbook of logic which has been widely used, he has been for twenty-five years editor of the *Philosophical Review*, the chief representative in America of the classical and scholarly tradition in philosophy. In view of the idealistic leanings of the master, it is interesting to note the matured views of the pupils. Seven of the twenty-two essays are historical; of the others twelve or more reflect in various ways the presence in the philosophical world of the school of pragmatism; while only one essay is concerned with the "new realism." Of Professor Creighton's pupils only one appears to be a fully converted pragmatist, though two or three others are ready to compromise. The more general attitude, to be sure, is one of hostile criticism; and in several cases the criticism is searching and fundamental, showing that the attack upon pragmatism has developed new bases along with the development of pragmatic theory. But the criticism is not unaccompanied by admissions; and what the volume seems to show is that pragmatism is not only the chief issue to be reckoned with by idealism to-day, but an issue which is able to bring about some revision of the idealistic philosophy.

A NEW volume listed among the publications of the Selden Society of England is always noteworthy, especially when it is an addition to the Year Book Series. Since the British Government has given up the issue of these old law reports, the burden of publishing them has fallen upon the shoulders of this private organization, which has thus far issued eleven volumes, the latest of which, from the hand of the learned and judicious William Craddock Bolland, covers a part of the years 1311–1312, the fifth year of Edward II (London: Bernard Quaritch). Mr. Bolland's introduction, according to the plan of the series, discusses many of the important points raised in the course of the arguments and endeavors to make clear the more difficult technical features of the cases tried; the most interesting is that which concerns the Statute *De donis*, or Statute of Entails, as it is commonly called. The case shows that a difference of opinion arose in the court as to the effect of the law: the serjeants or barristers arguing that only the one first receiving the land was bound by the entail, while the justice presiding at the trial held that the restraint extended to the fourth generation. The view usually presented in our textbooks of English law is that the entail was permanent, a view which apparently has no contemporary support. In this volume, we also get an interesting picture of the apprentices of the law, corresponding to our law students of to-day, standing in their "cribs" or stalls, gathering what instruction they could from the arguments of the serjeants and the opinions of the justices: an instance of "case-law" teaching in its earliest and simplest form. Not only did the young students listen to and make notes of what was said and done, but they also had the privilege of interrupting the serjeant if they deemed his presentation of the case unwise or otherwise open to criticism. Mr. Bolland thinks that some of the Year Books may have originated in the notes taken by these apprentices, a suggestion that is of value in view of the obscurity surrounding the authorship of these reports. As usual, the cases throw considerable light upon provincial life and manners in mediæval England.

AT the age of eighty-seven, Henry Vignaud, "Président de la Société des Américanistes, Conseiller Honoraire de l'Ambassade Américaine, Académie des Inscriptions et

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Belles-Lettres (prix Loubat, 1916)," is publishing a substantial volume from his lifetime study of the Discovery of America, which he shared with faithful service in the American Embassy of Paris. This American, who modestly describes himself as of "old Creole family"—it came to Louisiana with Bienville more than two hundred years ago—was already teaching in his native city of New Orleans in 1852. His very complete books on the history of Columbus down to the discovery of America have been published in French for reasons of wider diffusion among scholars—for they are the books of special scholars. Until now, they furnish the fullest repertory and analysis of all documentary remains of that period. The series, which the learned French Academy rewarded with its prize, is carried on by this new work, "Améric Vespuce—1451-1512—bibliography, life, voyages, discoveries, attribution of name to America, his authentic and contested *relations*" (Paris: E. Leroux). The book, of more than 400 pages, was in press a year ago, but war has delayed its publication long enough for its author to appreciate in a kind note recent documentary studies published at Princeton University by Professor Northup. The ghost of Vespucius will not down.

THE extent of the work may be judged by those familiar with Vignaud's analytical method of documentary exposition from a brief indication of the contents. A first part has seven chapters (over 100 pages) of critical bibliography of Sources. The second part (nearly as long) devotes thirteen chapters to the study of the life and voyages of Vespucius. The third part (not much shorter) studies the attribution of the name of Vespucius to America, first South and then North as well, from the earliest suggestion at Saint-Dié down to universal acceptance. The fourth and last part (of equal length) reprints the texts of the authentic writings in which Vespucius gave account of his voyages and of those which are merely attributed to him with more or less foundation. There is the usual complete index of subjects, names, and authors cited. Mr. Vignaud has written a "vindication of Vespucius." What this is likely to be those who have read the volumes on Columbus may easily gather from the following paragraph:

> We may say without any exaggeration that the greater part, if not all, the criticisms made against the work of Vespucius were inspired most of all by the chimerical fear that, if the discoveries which he claimed were veritable, Columbus would be diminished by just so much. Nothing is less true.
>
> Vespucius landed on the American mainland before Columbus, but no importance is to be attached to this fact, which was due to the hazard of circumstances and was only a consequence of the first discoveries of the great Genoese.
>
> Not in that is the merit of Vespucius—but in his sureness of judgment, his critical clearsightedness, his knowledge of older geography. These made him the first to see and to maintain that the world discovered by Columbus was a New World entirely distinct from Asia. With this indisputable fact we may ask if the great honor (of naming America) which the Gymnasium of the Vosges bestowed on Vespucius is undeserved.

WE are reminded of the mildew that always attacks books in India during the *monsoon* season in taking up C. F. Monkshood's "The Less Familiar Kipling and Kiplingana" (E. P. Dutton; $2 net). Somehow there is a pathetic feeling lurking among these pages that Mr. Monkshood had grown impatient of the long-awaited time when the halcyon days that marked the first decade of our century could be recalled: then it was that editors laid bets with each other, and perpetually lost, in order to keep the magic name of Rudyard Kipling out of the "copy." But the present generation of readers has never known the taste we once had for that curious, elliptical jargon that brusquely sketched strange types of the Saxon race governing half the savage world, and yet finding, as a Victorian Viceroy once put it, time to drink their tea. None could write a more effective "Envoi" on the passing of this taste, perhaps like his clever lines on the "three-decker" novel, than Rudyard Kipling himself, and somehow Mr. Monkshood's meagre collection of literary trivialities misses the opportunity. For Kipling lovers of the first or Indian period, there is a minimum of interest contained in these pages; and the enthusiast will miss, as we did, the lines that Kipling addressed to his lecture-manager, Major Pond, when the American tour was suddenly abandoned at Buffalo, or the better known verses to the late Admiral Robley Evans, or among the newspaper gleanings the clever Canadian verses celebrating Kipling's recovery from illness and his honorary doctorate from McGill University. On the whole, we regret to remind Mr. Monkshood of the fatal fickleness of public taste, that his little book of salvage is twenty years too late.

AN essay flavor all its own belongs to "The Inn of Disenchantment" (Houghton Mifflin; $1.25), by Lisa Ysaye—a bitter sweet flavor that leaves one's palate questioning to the end. Each essay is intended to be cynical, but so slyly and gently that the result is, in the main, pleasure. All the little misunderstandings of life, all the egoistic failures in insight into others' moods and motives, all the errings and waywardnesses and disharmonies and disenchantments are here fondled by the author and made acceptable to the reader. Many of these little essays are sombre, but none are bitter—though a trace of bitterness lurks in several, such as "The New Leaf," a wild acorn flavor that lingers. The personal essay always tend to be "well bred." These essays are avowedly so, with their old-fashioned formalities and their staid characters, the Gentleman in Gray and the Lady in Blue.

WE have heard of Wordsworth as a lost leader, we heard lamentations over his political recusancy, and com-

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placent ridicule of his later poems. As a counterweight it is pleasant to read Dr. A. V. Dicey's essay on "The Statesmanship of Wordsworth" (Oxford University Press; $1.80 net). Dr. Dicey professes to have had in mind the circumstances of the present crisis while studying the poet's ideas during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period. Naturally. But his essay is no mere tract for the times. His measured judgment of the Revolution is in itself a piece of extraordinarily sound and lucid writing, and, though he makes no pretence to literary criticism, his whole treatment of Wordsworth's prose and verse is, in the larger sense, critical writing of a high order. His thesis is to minimize the supposed break in the poet's social convictions, and to show how sound and wide was his general understanding of international politics.

IN "The Top of the Wine-Jar" (Sherman, French; $1.50), Livingston Stebbins has made a book out of extremely short selections—averaging less than half a page—from the prose and verse of Frederick Rowland Marvin. The prose is arranged under a dozen heads, on such topics as God, Religion, and Immortality; Oracles and Counsels; Civics, Patriotism, and Heroism; Kindness to Animals; Music, Art, and Beauty. After the author's warning, in one of the selections, that the critic is "a nuisance," one hesitates to pass from the haven of exposition to the perilous seas of criticism, but the fact is that the reviewer does not share with Mr. Stebbins the ardent admiration expressed in the Introduction. Dr. Marvin, once a physician and a Congregational minister, and the author of a dozen books on various themes, is, one cannot but feel, an admirable character of a type all too rare in our democracy, our land of "glorified mobrule," as Dr. Marvin chooses to call it; but one can scarcely say more than that. Here are enthusiasm, idealism, moral energy, but not a commanding point of view, not unusual insight. The best things in the book are, perhaps, the epigrammatic sayings scattered throughout, such as the sentence, "Unconditioned loyalty to any country is treason to mankind," and a few of the poems, such as "A New England Housewife," which is somewhat doubtfully classified under "Wit and Humor":

Through all her life 'twas dust and only dust her thought engaged;
Some dust was real, but more her nimble mind supplied;
The poet's art she scorned, the painter's skill despised;
For dust she lived, and, dying, "Dust to dust!" she cried.

PROF. H. T. Fowler, the author of an admirable work on the literature of ancient Israel, has written an excellent primer for Bible classes under the title "The Origin and Growth of the Hebrew Religion" (University of Chicago Press; $1). He follows strictly the line of recent critical discussion of the religion of the Old Testament, and his arrangement of the material is clear and interesting. His discrimination between the higher and lower sides of Old Testament ideas enables him to express distinctly his sympathy with the better thought of the prophets and psalmists, and so to guide the student into an intelligent view of the development of the Israelitish conscience. While avoiding unnecessary details he gives references to standard works on the subjects discussed by means of which the scholar may follow fuller investigation in the nature of this remarkable religious evolution.

In No-Man's Land

By CHARLES R. MURPHY

THOUGH you be stopped midway in the charge
And sink to earth a thing that may not move;
Though with the common welter of the ground
Slowly and hideously you be lost;
Though you be made many with the grains of earth
And uttermost dispersal be your lot;
Though life become a thing that never was
And remembrance of you on the earth
Be less than a dream that no one ever dreamt;
Yet just you
Shall surprise the shy arisen Christ
Walking in the garden in the dawn.

National Miniatures

General Crozier

IN the accounts of the Senate investigation of conditions hampering the work of the Ordnance Department of the army, enough details have come out to demonstrate afresh the fondness of Gen. William Crozier for frank speech. No right-minded subordinate criticises his chief from choice, even indirectly. When he does this, it is because some higher necessity forces him to sink his personal preference in the cause of the public good; and it is indeed a rare happening that the chief meets the criticism with a corresponding manly candor, as Secretary Baker appears to have met Crozier's. The situation was thus far improved. It is always possible for both sides to be wrong when judgments clash, but it is never possible for both to be right; and if, in the pending instance, mistakes have been made, the discovery of the fact and of its source is the first step towards their solution.

The fates have given a peculiar twist to Crozier's career. Assigned to his present post early in President Roosevelt's Administration, and continued through that and the Taft and Wilson Administrations by repeated reassignments, he finds himself now designated once more by President Wilson, in spite of his differences with the Secretary of War, while the President who gave him his first special honors is pouring hot shot into him through the editorial columns of a Western newspaper. All this has tended to make calm observers in Washington rather cautious in forming their conclusions on the case. From all the difficulties which have beset his progress in the past, Crozier has come forth in excellent form; and the most serious adverse comment passed upon him by fair civilian critics is that, although he is a constant and absolutely tireless worker, day and night, he shares the fault so common in technical experts when placed in such a position as his, of lacking that quality of administrative genius which enables the man at the head of a great system to distribute among his trained assistants all of his obligations that are not essentially personal to himself.

In view of the recent wonderful development of aviation as part of the machinery of war, Crozier must feel not a little satisfaction in his sense of having been one of the prophets of the new dispensation. Ten years ago or more, while the

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use of aeroplanes for naval tactics in the upper firmament was still widely regarded as no better than a dream of the H. G. Wells school of fiction, Crozier looked far enough ahead to declare, with scientific confidence, that we were on the eve of a new era in warfare, in which the airship equipped with explosives of an unusually powerful sort would play a central part. He was then a trifle more than fifty years of age, and by the time he reached sixty he had seen his forecast translated into fact, and the fact so universally familiar as no longer to excite comment.

Like many another good man, Crozier opened his eyes upon the world in Ohio, and followed the path of fame through Kansas. He seems to have given signs of no extraordinary ability as a boy, for we learn that, on his graduation at West Point with the class of 1876, he was assigned, not to any staff corps, but to the artillery. Advancement was slow in those days; after eight years of fighting Indians in the West and teaching cadets at the Academy, he was still plodding along with the lieutenant's rank. But he had not been idle; and when an opportunity offered to win admittance to the Ordnance Department by competitive examination, he entered for the contest and won. From that point the real story of his life began. Six years after he laid down his professorship he was promoted to a captaincy, and his work in that position, including some valuable inventions, the unrestricted use of which he turned over gratuitously to the Government, captured the attention of Elihu Root, then Secretary of War, who was keeping a keen lookout for young and energetic men to use in a scheme of general reorganization which was to lift the military service out of the rut in which it seemed to be running.

As Root wished Crozier for Chief of Ordnance, but his rank was too low under the common interpretation of the statute, the President jumped him from his captaincy to a brigadier-generalship over the heads of four colonels, six lieutenant-colonels, twelve majors, and five captains who outranked him in seniority. Leonard Wood, James Franklin Bell, and Frederick Funston were notable examples of the same heroic method of elevation; but the Senate hemmed and hawed for seven months over Crozier's case as if it were unique, receiving once an adverse report from its committee, but finally throwing that objection out by a vote of nearly four to one. And the two circumstances which seemed to make the deepest impression on the Senatorial mind were that the promotion had been based solely on proven merit, without a hint of political influence, and that, though an inventor, Crozier was unwilling to make anything out of the Government "on the side"—a significant suggestion of the sort of discoveries to which the august chamber must have become accustomed in its work of confirming nominations!

Not alone on the subject of aerial warfare has Crozier exhibited a prophetic instinct; he has also had something to say about the necessary limitations on the scope of international arbitration as a means of bringing all war to an end, expressing his belief that the establishment of a world court would not of itself, and in all respects, insure better conditions; for the decision of our own Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case showed that the law, speaking through its highest recognized authority, might have caused the indefinite prolongation of the slave system, and it is far from impossible that, had the question of the right of dissatisfied States to secede from the Union been submitted in due form to the same tribunal, it would have been settled in the affirmative. To the Mexican War, in his judgment, such respectable commonwealths as California, Colorado, and Utah are probably indebted for not being to-day in the deplorable condition of Chihuahua, Sonora, and Durango; and the war for the liberation of Cuba was plainly one of sentiment, based on our humane abhorrence of a situation which no amount of legal logic or judicial consideration could have overcome.

TATTLER

Modern Stage-Setting

By A. G. H. SPIERS

IN explaining his design for the second scene of the first act of "Cæsar and Cleopatra," Gordon Craig writes as follows: "I know something of the sculptures of Egypt, and I know this—that it (the Sphinx) is light in tone, sharp cut, and as sharp in the moonlight as it is in the sunlight. It is the noblest of all art. . . . But here it was a matter of putting on a Socialistic Sphinx. . . . Instead of sharp precise lines, with virtue in every inch of them, the Socialistic Sphinx must be splodgy, restless, threatening." I quote these words not in order to arouse my Socialist friends, but because they contain the gist of a new art: they suggest the aim and the laws which control the efforts of the modern school of stage-setting. Since we in America, who until to-day have seen but sporadic examples of this art, have at last an opportunity to see it at work week by week at the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier, a little discussion of its principles may not be unwelcome here.

As Craig's words show, this new stage-setting is due to the efforts of artists, not of mechanics or photographers. Sharing in the general philosophic tendencies of the age and following closely the particular æsthetics of present-day drama and literature, it is neither materialistic nor mystic; it is rather a synthesis of realism and symbolism, in which the excesses of the one have been curbed by the excesses of the other. Let us take a matter of detail. To the realist, a door is a panel of solid material swinging on iron hinges and fitted with a knob for opening and closing. To the symbolist, this same door is a threshold beyond which lies the terrifying unknown of birth and death. But to the modern stage-director it is something still different: it is "a way out and a way in." It may be represented on the stage by an arch, as in Craig's setting of Venice Preserved, or by a screen, as in Copeau's "La Navette." The essential thing is that the audience shall be impressed with the possibility of an exit and an entrance.

According to this idea, the stage-director enjoys a certain liberty. When staging a play, he casts aside the realities. He disregards the data of observation or history; he neglects this or that detail of the text (it is hard to see how Cæsar can "take the other paw" of Craig's Sphinx!); and he even assumes the right to sacrifice the explicit directions of the author. He may not, of course, destroy the illusion created by the acting: that stage-setting is bad, for instance, which makes an actor seem to grow in stature as he moves from the front of the stage to the back, or which suggests unrest when the text requires serenity. But, aside from this restriction, the stage-director of to-day is free from the tyranny of the "book." "I was asked," says Craig, "to produce this play in Berlin, and the only thing I could do was to forget to read the author's stage directions, so that I might make sure of the meaning of the play. As

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I read the words, I wanted to omit these, too, for the Scenario Scene seemed so excellent. When I got the words out of my head, I looked to see what was left of the first scene. . . ." "To get at the meaning of the play," to represent its spirit, that is the aim of the new stage-setting. Like modern music for opera, the setting is no longer an accessory to the text, helping this or that detail of the action; it is an independent rendering of the same matter.

Copeau's setting for Molière's "La Jalousie du Barbouillé," is governed by the same principles. The text of the play calls for a scene showing Le Barbouillé's house with a window looking out on the street. But the play is a farce; it makes no attempt at reality. The characters are types or puppets, not individuals. Copeau seizes upon this fact and [illegible]s other considerations. He does not put before us a real dwelling with a real window. Instead, he hangs from the ceiling of the stage two curtains, leaving between them an opening in the shape of a broad letter A. Across the bottom of this opening he runs a neutral-colored wall in which is set the green door of the house; and above this door, at the cross-bar of the A, he sets a green railing to serve as the window. As for his characters, he dresses them in solid colors—one in yellow, another in blue, a third in gray, a fourth in black, a fifth in purple, and so on. And as these figures move and stand in front of the wall and door, we are reminded of the fun and beauty of a painting by Maxfield Parrish.

It is evident that, according to the new ideas, the first duty of the stage-director is to seize correctly the spirit of the play. How well Copeau succeeds was proved the other night by a curious incident.

In a former bill, his troupe had played "La Navette"; it was now ready to give Renard's "Pain de Ménage." The definition of the first play is boredom and the commomplace made to compel our attention; but "Le Pain de Ménage" is different. It represents the flirtation of two persons of taste and breeding, who, in spite of a velleity for romance, are in reality incapable of breaking up the well-ordered *ménages* in which, at bottom, they are very happy. Externally, however, these two plays are similar, and Copeau's setting emphasized, in a way, this similarity. Both call for modern interiors, and they were both played on a narrow stage backed by the same curtain of pale yellow. The furniture itself was almost identical—the same table, the same sofa, the same chairs (with one exception), and, at each side of the stage, the same blue screens. Nevertheless, the effect of the setting was very different on the two evenings. At the beginning of "La Navette" the spectators showed no more than their customary interest; when, however, the curtain rose for "Le Pain de Ménage," they broke out into spontaneous applause. By giving to the screens a slightly different angle, by introducing a pretty tea-set and a lamp, by bringing the sofa into a cozier relation to the table on the one side and to a wicker chair on the other, and finally by dressing his woman in a beautiful gown of excellent taste, Copeau had communicated to us that very atmosphere of good breeding, wit, and serenity which distinguishes the two plays.

It would be a mistake to infer from the descriptions I have given that the scenery at the Vieux Colombier is always scanty. True to the new ideas, though never obtrusive, it varies according to the play. One of the most elaborate settings shown so far is that of "Le Carrosse du Saint Sacrement." The scene is laid in a large hall flooded with mellow sunlight falling on light pillars and lattice-work at the back of the stage, and on rich furniture, bright cushions, and Eastern cloths on the front. A tapestry with bold green figures hangs on a pole connecting two of the pillars; screens of dark red and black flank the stage; in the centre, an ample chair in red stands beside an ornamental table; and, beside this chair, is brought a stool bearing a burning light and goblet filled with a dark yellow liquid. The effect of these inanimate things is further enriched by the costumes of three actors who are on the stage as the curtain rises. But Copeau has still further something in store for us, a figure which shall combine harmoniously all these shades of gold, red, green, and black. This figure is the character of the arch beauty, the Spanish actress Périchole. The appearance of Périchole was hailed the other night with immediate applause. Wearing a high comb draped with a blond mantilla, and clad in the tight corsage and the broad panniers of Velasquez's paintings, this young actress is a delight for the eyes. Her dress, whose shape lends itself to display, is a combination of old rose, gold, and black, set off by a rose in her black hair, by handsome jewels at her neck, by lace on her arms, and, at her feet, by green stockings and white satin slippers tipped with red pompons. And, to give to her costume a still greater richness and style, she wears, hanging from her shoulders, a train of yellow satin lined with green. Just as the personality of Périchole dominates the spoken text, so her costume is the crowning element of the stage-setting. When she has appeared, Copeau's intentions have been realized; we have before us a picture which, in itself, gives us the essence of the whole play.

If the settings of the Vieux Colombier have much in common with those of other modern theatres abroad, they possess nevertheless their own peculiarity. Copeau is not a direct disciple of Craig; and he differs from him in temperament, in generation, and in the nature of the works he produces. Craig, occupied more especially with tragedy in which external forces weigh upon the destinies of men, allows the material setting to dominate the characters, or at least to assume at times an equal prominence with them. Copeau, on the other hand, has up to the present produced nothing but comedy. Here the characters are all-important; and that is why he devotes so much attention to the dress of his actors. But the emphasis which he puts on his characters has another effect: it leads to unusual arrangements of the stage itself.

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A striking example of this appears in his production of "Les Fourberies de Scapin." I have shown in a former article that the success of this play depends upon two things: First, the person of Scapin must receive great prominence; it is not sufficient for us to hear his words or to see him moving among the other characters; and secondly, we must be made to accept an artificiality whose absurdities are mainly physical: Argante takes shelter behind Scapin and the valet walks round and round the stage, following the old man, but pretending not to see him. To produce these results, Copeau has recourse to a very simple device: he revives the trestle of the country fairs. In the middle of the stage he places a large square platform, and this platform, approached on all sides by flights of steps, fulfils his requirements exactly. It focusses our attention and, at the same time, it limits the movements of the actors. Here Scapin may disport himself at his pleasure; he may lie down on this platform or sit cross-legged playing dice with Silvestre; he is always in full view of the audience, and, what is more, without assuming a dignity untrue to his rôle, he can dominate the other characters, who, for the time being, stand on the stage floor below. And when these other characters mount in their turn upon the platform, they are, as it were, hemmed in; the edge prevents them from moving away, a fact which renders very much more effective all the scenes of fruitless flight and bodily encounter.

There are other features of the productions at the Vieux Colombier that bear upon the principles of the modern stage-setting. But I have noted enough, no doubt, to show how interesting for the lover of the theatre are the performances of this new French troupe.

French Opera to the Fore

By HENRY T. FINCK

WHEN Maurice Grau was manager of the Metropolitan, French opera played first fiddle, at least if we include in the French school the Prussian Jew, Meyerbeer, who, for half a century, dominated the Paris Opéra. Oscar Hammerstein's several seasons at the Manhattan likewise hinged on French opera, to which he owed most of his brilliant successes. With his retirement, and under the Metropolitan consulship of Heinrich Conried, followed by the rule of Gatti-Cassaza, French opera declined, neither of these men having a special affection for it. Their unbusinesslike conduct has been made evident by the overwhelming success of the revivals of "Carmen" and "Faust," which will be actually the best cards at the Metropolitan this season, judging by the crowds they draw and the enthusiasm. Next month, moreover, the Chicago Opera Company, under the indefatigable Cleofonte Campanini, will begin a season of four weeks in this city at the Lexington Theatre, during which the repertory will be chiefly French. Mr. Campanini has on his list no fewer than sixteen French operas from which to choose. They are balanced by fourteen Italian and two American works.

One of the two novelties promised at the Metropolitan was produced last week: "Marouf, the Cobbler of Cairo," by the French composer, Henri Rabaud, who is at present conductor of the Opéra Comique in Paris. A symphony of his was recently played here under Walter Damrosch and gave much pleasure to the audience, largely because of its melodic freshness. His opera is the second he has written. It was produced in Paris three months before the war began and has been able to hold its own ever since, which was reason sufficient for bringing it over here. It is based on one of the Scheherazade tales in the Arabian Nights and offers unusual opportunities to the scene painters, costumers, stage manager, as well as to the composer. The cobble Cairo ran away from a shrewish wife and, in a for country, posed as the richest man in the world, with the of a wealthy friend who loved a practical joke. Even Sultan is fooled by his lavish ways and goes so far a let him have the princess. To her Marouf confesses, she has learned to love him for his own self and follows in his flight to escape exposure and punishment. desert they come across a stone with a ring which, rubbed, brings to their aid a Genie who magically p a caravan which makes Marouf as rich as he had prote to be and promptly pacifies the pursuing Sultan.

The five scenes into which the opera is divided reek the real atmosphere of the Arabian Nights. Nothing in way of scenic splendor, not even "Parsifal," has perh equalled this Metropolitan production. The open-air bler's shop in the first act; the marketplace; the courty in the Sultan's palace, with an acropolis of Oriental do as a background; the harem, and the desert make a series of realistic pictures most pleasing to the eye; and nothing was left undone to render the groupings on the stage and the dances equal to the scenery.

The music, too, is realistic and atmospheric. The French originator of exotic music, Félicien David, never dreamed of such sustained Orientalism in music as Rabaud displays in his kaleidoscopic score. Melodically it is less notable than his symphony, and it cannot be said that he has favored the singers, who depend more on histrionic ability than on vocal prowess. The chief interest lies in the orchestra, which commingles Oriental intervals with Occidental harmonies and colors in a frequently ravishing manner, particularly in the first three acts. With all its Oriental tints, the opera is withal French, of the latest Parisian type, which is as far removed from the style of "Carmen" and "Faust" as from Auber and Adam, or even Lulli and Rameau. It is the style of Paul Dukas, but simpler, and with touches of Ravel and Debussy; also of Wagner and the Russians. There is no striking originality, yet the opera was worth transplanting. Among the artists in the cast were Frances Alda, Giuseppe de Luca, Kathleen Howard, and Leon Rothier, while Pierre Monteaux, the Metropolitan's new French pilot, conducted the performance with zeal and skill.

Finance

The Recovery in Stocks

IN part, no doubt, the substantial recovery on the Stock Exchange last week, after the uncertain movement of the first day or two, showed Wall Street coming to its sober senses. From the character of the market the previous week and the talk which circulated along with it, one might have supposed that the German army was about to shatter overnight the French and English defences and march to the gates of Paris. There was so much that was really serious in the situation that one would not have been wholly warranted in describing the incident as a mere outburst of Wall

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Street foolishness. But it certainly had all the outward signs of those occasional fits of unreasoning alarm which come only with the psychology of the financial crowd.

Last week, at all events, the Stock Exchange began to rub its eyes, look around again, and read the news without seeing it in distorted perspective. First and foremost, it once more heard those familiar year-end "peace overtures" from Berlin, which, ever since the winter of 1915, have shown what Imperial Germany thought of its own situation and its longer prospects in the war. Next, it perceived that Germany was making no irresistible assaults on the western line; that something was happening in Russia which was not an overwhelming triumph of the Bolsheviki, and at length, that Germany's humiliating negotiations with the Petrograd [illegible] for a German peace were not working altogether [illegible]. Along with this came a moment's reflection on [illegible] the necessities must be which could have induced the personal Ministers of Imperial Berlin to pocket the insults publicly flung at their master by the Russian fanatics, and go hat in hand to the border for a conference with them.

Not least of all, perhaps, the Wall Street mind seemed to be suddenly penetrated with the real meaning of the prices to which sound investment securities had been allowed to go, and of what they yielded at such prices to investors. This discovery (if it can be so described) was perhaps not less impressive from the fact that some of the most violent declines had occurred in bonds of foreign governments in the highest standing, and in bonds, moreover, which are redeemable in gold at New York city one to three years from now.

In the depths of its recent mood of pessimism, Wall Street was quite capable of discussing the probability that in 1919 or 1921 the British Government, the Paris Exchequer, and the municipalities of France would either have nothing left with which to pay their maturities, or else would indulge in some such mysterious "repudiation" as Lenine and Trotzky are fond of threatening. The idea was interesting, even if not very creditable to the sense of the Stock Exchange community. There will be some time in the future when financiers and economists will discuss with perplexed incredulity the days when such a suggestion had been ventured, in Wall Street itself, regarding a few hundred millions of short-term gold bonds which were a first lien on the British Empire.

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Summary of the News

THE past week has been one of national house-cleaning in the various boards created to deal with public utilities essential for the prosecution of the war. In food, fuel, shipping, and ordnance there have been charges and counter-charges of red tape, official jealousies, and obstructions. The Senate Committee on Military Affairs continues its investigation of the Ordnance Department. Serious lack of rifles, machine guns, and artillery has been found to be due to a failure on the part of the Ordnance Department to provide these essentials. On the evidence taken in the last meetings certain scientific experts and inventors have laid the blame upon Gen. Crozier, head of the Ordnance Department. Procrastination and a lack of proper authority seems to be the consensus of opinion offered at the investigation, while one witness suggested that a Munition Minister was necessary. In the Shipping Board, however, harmony reigns, and 996 ships have been contracted for, according to Chairman Hurley's report.

WITH the adjournment of Congress until January 3, no action has been taken by President Wilson relative to the railway problem. It is thought that the President will take some step on the matter of war control during the holidays and seek legislative action later. This he is entitled to do under a paragraph in the Army Appropriation act of August 29, 1916.

THE situation in Russia is still uncertain, and the meagre news does not award complete control to the Bolshevik Government. According to the latest dispatches, Petrograd is now in a state of siege, and there have been important defections from the Bolshevik supporters, such as that of the Ukrainian division, which is now leagued with the Cossacks. The latter are steadily making gains in the southwest. A rumor states that Gen. Kaledines has proposed to the Bolshevik Government that civil war shall cease, stipulating the independence of the Don territory and non-intervention by the Maximalists. A recent cable announces that the Bolshevik forces are now largely commanded by released German and Austrian officer prisoners, and that they have scored a victory over the Cossacks at Tashkent in Russian Turkestan, while a large force composed of Teutonic prisoners under their own officers are advancing on Petrograd.

GERMANY, meanwhile, continues to treat the Bolshevik offers of peace with official seriousness, outlining her demands on a basis of no annexations or indemnities. Through the Bolshevik Ministry, Germany is endeavoring to make these terms acceptable to the Allies. For the German people the peace overtures are invested with great significance. From Holland comes the news that the German people are associating them with a Teutonic victory that is now assured with the elimination of Russia as an enemy. The delegates of the Teutonic Powers and of the Bolshevik régime convened at Brest-Litovsk on December 23. Representatives of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey were present. According to agreement, the negotiations are to be conducted in the languages of these four countries, as well as in Russian. The German Foreign Minister, Richard von Kühlmann, was elected president of the conference.

AGAINST the conference at Brest-Litovsk, Premier Lloyd George has officially declared the aims of Great Britain as being set on a destruction of militarism under the Prussian military caste, and demanding the complete restoration of all territories occupied by the Central Powers, together with complete compensation for losses sustained. The Premier stated that the status of the German colonies captured during the war would be a matter for the peace congress to decide, with due consideration for the sentiments of the peoples involved.

THE new American department in the French Government, of which Jules Cambon, former Ambassador to this country, is appointed director, has been instituted by Premier Clemenceau to facilitate all matters relating to the requirements of our forces in France. In the new department will be a central office of orders and purchases, which will perform for Americans in France the work that the Government in Washington is doing for the French in the United States.

THE situation on the Italian front has settled down into fierce attacks and counter-attacks. After gaining a position on Monte Asolone, east of the Brenta, which would have given them an approach to the Venetian Plain, the Austrians were driven out by an Italian offensive. Large forces of Teutonic troops are concentrating on the Asiago sector, where the Italians have been reinforced by French troops, and this growing pressure accounts for the scattered gains made by the enemy at various points, in feeling for an entrance to the northern plains. The Italians have strengthened their strategic positions between Asiago and Stelvio. Weather conditions and the terrain are both proving favorable to the Teutonic forces, but snow in the mountains is daily expected.

ON the western front, where snow has fallen, the Germans satisfy themselves with night raids on the British, and with artillery duels on the French sectors. Near Passchendaele the British took prisoners and machine guns in a trench raid, while the enemy's guns have now turned their attention to the Ypres sector. The Allies are no longer in doubt as to the large reinforcements that the enemy has received on the Italian and western fronts by the release of large bodies of effectives from Russia. Evidence accumulates that the Bolshevik authorities are unable to control the systematic changes in the German lines, which made it possible to install divisions of a tender age, and to withdraw the seasoned troops that have hitherto held this region. Drafts from the younger classes of reservists have greatly increased the German forces since last July, and it is now estimated that 154 divisions are massed on the Franco-British front. As yet there is no indication that the heralded Hindenburg drive is to take place.

ONCE more the German raiders have scored a success over a North Sea convoy. One British and five neutral merchantmen, a British destroyer, and four armed trawlers fell victims to a swift dash by heavily armed enemy raiders. The total tonnage lost on this occasion, when the convoy was on its way from Scotland to Norway, amounted to 8,000 tons. This attack was preceded on December 12 by another, in which two neutral vessels and one British trawler were sunk off the Tyne by German destroyers. These incidents have roused intense feeling in England, and an official inquiry as to the negligence of the Admiralty in not providing adequate support is now in progress.

MEANWHILE the submarine menace eludes all efforts to bring it under control. For the week ending December 10 there were sunk by mine and submarine seventeen British merchantmen of more than 1,600 tons. The French report a loss of one vessel of less than this tonnage for the week ending December 15. In the Ionian Sea the French lost an old cruiser, the Château Renault, by submarine attack on December 14; the submarine was subsequently destroyed by the cruiser's convoy of destroyers, and a number of her crew taken prisoner. On December 22 the British armed vessel Stephen Furness was sunk in the Irish Channel by a submarine, with a loss of 101 lives.

ADDITIONAL revelations of German intrigue in Argentina were made public by Secretary Lansing on December 20. Thirty-eight messages from Count von Luxburg to the German Foreign Office gave that official's opinion of President Irigoyen as being friendly to Germany, and counting on him to head a South American stand against the German policy of United States. As a result of the publication of these messages serious riots have occurred in Buenos Aires together with demonstrations against the President, demanding war with Germany. The Argentine Congress will conduct an official investigation of the Luxburg dispatches.

WASHINGTON has settled the controversy between the naval and merchant commanders regarding future cooperation and division of authority while at sea. Serious dissension has hitherto existed between the commanders of gun crews and the captains of ships to which they were assigned. The Department of Commerce has defined future conduct when military reasons intervene, whereby merchant captains, while such peril is imminent, are to obey the orders of the gun-crew commander.

ON December 18 the German airplanes made another raid on London. An attacking squadron of from sixteen to twenty planes killed ten persons in the capital, and wounded seventy, while five persons were injured outside. No military damage was sustained, and one of the attacking planes was accounted for. The squadron was effectively broken up by gun-fire, so that only five planes succeeded in dropping bombs on the capital.

AN unfortunate naval accident occurred in home waters, when the submarine F-1 rammed and sank the F-3 during a fog, causing the loss of nineteen sailors, or nearly all of her complement. The commander of the ill-fated submarine was among those rescued after the catastrophe.

ON December 17 Canada voted for conscription, with the Province of Quebec as the lone dissenter. Premier Borden's victory rests on the domestic vote, as the soldiers' vote from France will not be available until January. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was defeated in Ottawa, but was elected in Quebec East by a majority of 6,000. On December 21 a proposal that the Province of Quebec should secede from the Dominion of Canada was put forward in a motion introduced in the Provincial Legislature by a Quebec delegate, J. N. Francoeur.

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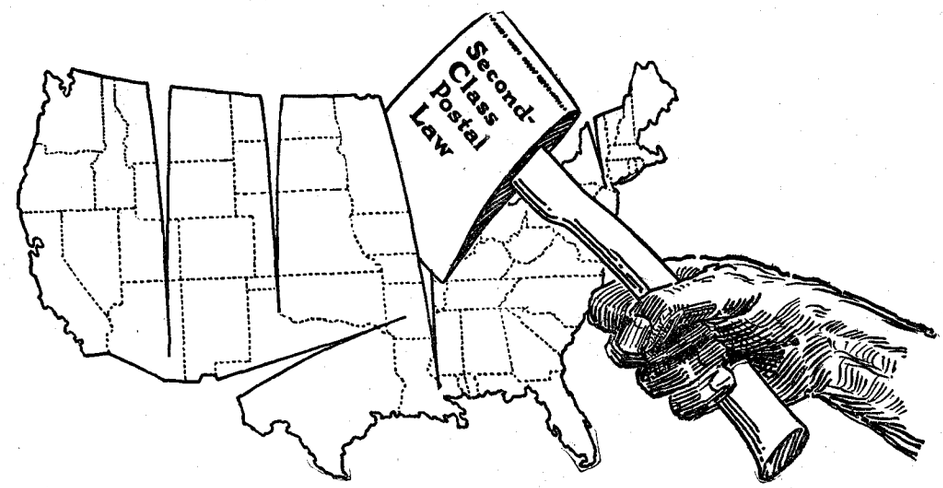
America M Be United

IN this time of unprecedented national peril and world peril, Ame must be strong with the strength of unity—one nation. America must be bound together, as it is to-day, not so much by the machinery of Government, as by Ideas, held in common by all and fully exchanged, so that all the people throughout the country may understand and sympathize with one another. This is what has brought this great nation together and holds it together.

This result has been accomplished primarily by the Press—particularly the weekly and monthly periodicals and business papers. These periodicals have not local or sectional bias; they go to all parts of America, and serve all parts alike; their great service is in helping to bring all sections close together into one great nation, through a common understanding.



America must not be Split into a half-dozen Sections

Weak with the ILLS and EVILS of Sectionalism

But such a disastrous result is not only possible, but probable, unless the present law pertaining to second-class post- ealed before it goes into effect. Postal legislation was enacted in the present Revenue Bill, which divides the into "zones" and increases the average carrying charge upon magazines and periodicals from 50 to 900 per cent.

nation-binding periodicals are confronted with certain injury and destruction—which means loss to you person- s to your country. It will destroy a large part of the periodicals. You will be deprived of the magazines pt you informed on your country's problems, that have helped you in your work. Your children will lose the ations that have entertained and helped educate them. And eventually, such magazines as do survive will ch more.

Office Department has never been considered a money-making institution. It was established, as was the f Agriculture, for the benefit of the people. There is no deficit to make up, therefore

ncrease is necessary. Last year the Post Office Department earned a surplus of nearly $10,000,000

ffice was never intended as a tax-gathering institution. It was basically designed to give service to the peo e people at the same rate. The Publishers are not trying to evade taxation. They will gladly accept any ate their profits that may be levied. Most of them have gone on record as being willing to turn over to the ov r entire net profits for the period of the war.

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